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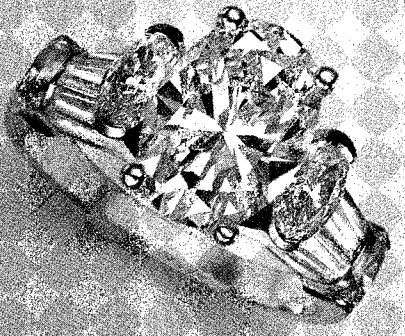

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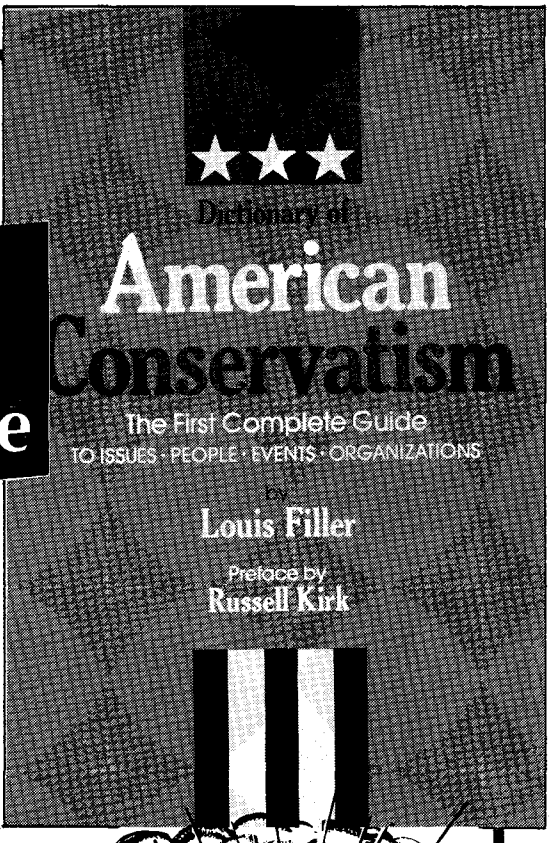

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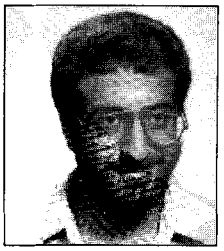
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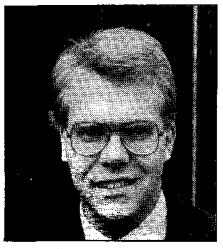
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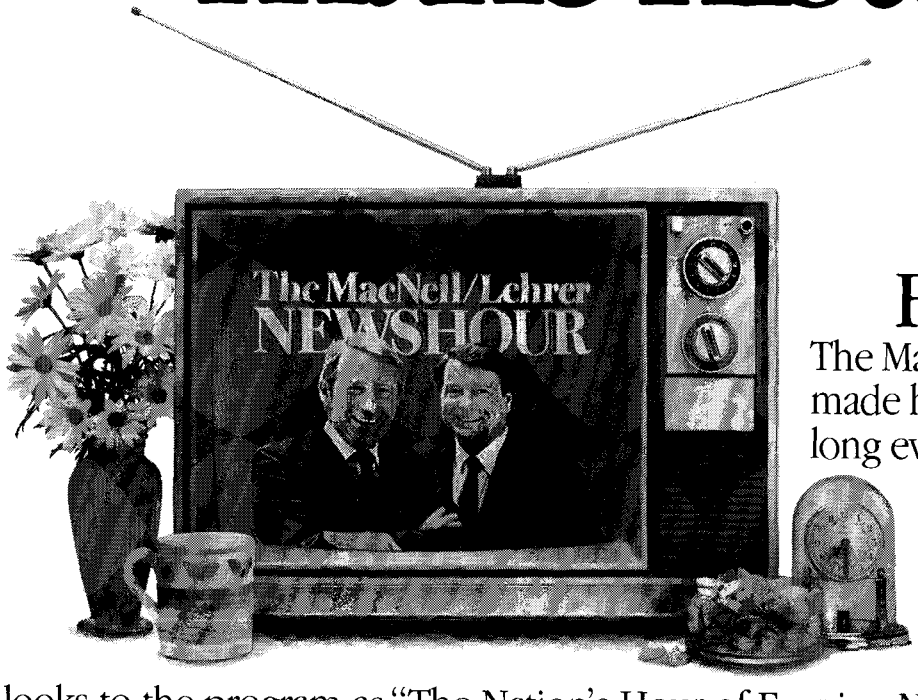

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LETTERS

Meet You at the Lion's Head

Many thanks to *NR* for more coverage by the impressive Peter Weber ["The Streets Were Paved with Gold Diggers," June 5]. Perhaps he might be given a regular column wherein he could monitor the Rotten Apple.

Nevertheless, I'm surprised that Weber didn't mention one obvious item—namely: that Jimmy Breslin, and other journalists who could do something about it, are the best of drinking buddies with all the pols (see Pete Hamill's obit on Donald Manes in *The Village Voice*). Breslin wins Pulitzers for rooting out corruption and maintains friendships by never challenging its source.

Perry Atwater
White Plains, N.Y.

The Old Left

Anent Joe Sobran's characteristically amiable review of my *Visions and Nightmares: America after Reagan* [May 22], I note that Heilbroner and Howe are not yet seventy. Indeed they are only a few years older than the editor of this very periodical. I do regret straining Sobran's span of attention.

Robert Lekachman
New York, N.Y.

Revenge of the Nerds II

NR's editorial on the Bernhard Goetz trial, "Excessive Force" [June 5], winds up by quoting—approvingly—Ray Price's conclusion, "Three cheers for Bernhard Goetz."

No.

Give the guy one good mark for judgment of character: The four "victims" all amply deserved to be shot. And give him credit for having the guts to carry a gun, presumably knowing that there are situations—like the one Goetz is in now—where that can get you in worse trouble than the people you're carrying it against.

But after that, I'm sorry: Goetz is a loser. Either he was carrying this loaded gun around, in New York City crowds, with no clear idea of how he would use it if the situation ever arose; or else he did have some idea but couldn't carry it out—whether through cowardice, conscience, or lousy aim. He exerted more force than was needed just to keep the thugs away from him ("You don't look so bad" is the decisive point here); but not enough to keep them off the streets for any appreciable amount of time—all but the one whom he wounded severely enough to give the creep grounds for bringing a huge lawsuit against him.

Would I have done any better? I don't know. That's one reason I don't carry a gun on the streets.

Julia Davies
New York, N.Y.

That Was When . . .

It seems that Republican Presidents first come to office with the attitude that they want to do good things ["Reagan's Suicide Pact," May 22]. Somewhere along the line they decide that they want to be remembered well.

Ronald Reagan needs to reread some of his earlier speeches on the evil Communist empire. If Irangate has taught us anything, it is that you cannot negotiate with barbarians.

Mark A. Mitchell
Marietta, Ga.

. . . This Is How

Two comments in Alcestis Oberg's review of *Challenger: A Major Malfunction* [April 24] puzzle me: her denial that the Soviet *Salyut* manned space program is largely military, and the tabulation of numbers of days for military and civilian missions.

Many people in the DOD and elsewhere have categorically stated that the *Soyuz* and *Salyut* crews perform many military functions, far more than suggested by Mrs. Oberg's tabulation (cf. annual *Soviet Military Power*).

Rol Engle calculated the cost of the Soviet manned space program to 1982, and found it totaled a staggering $38.8 billion; it would be close to $50 billion today (*International Defense Review*, No. 3, 1982). It is inconceivable that such an enormous sum was invested for civilian uses.

I am curious about how the number of days for military *v.* civilian uses was derived. *Case 1.* Typically, each day in space involves several tasks. Assume there are six tasks; two are military, three are scientific, and one is civilian. Three of the scientific and civilian tasks also have potential military applications. *Case 2.* Cosmonauts state that 60 per cent of their time is devoted to

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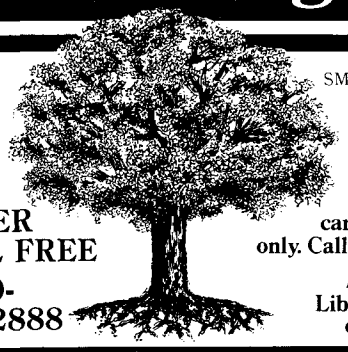

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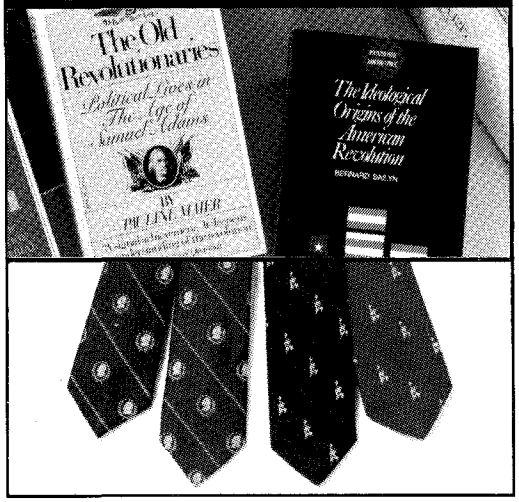
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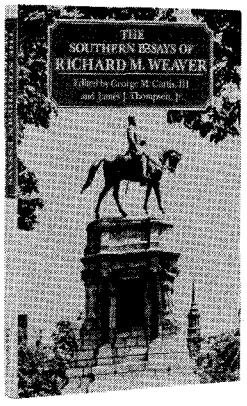

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Foreword by George Core
Edited with Preface by
George M. Curtis, III and
James J. Thompson, Jr.

Richard M. Weaver (1910-1963) was one of the leading figures in the post World War II development of an intellectual, self-conscious conservatism. Yet following his untimely death his work, for the most part, faded from view, though his most important and widely cited book, *Ideas Have Consequences* (Chicago, 1948), still is in print.

Weaver's appreciation of liberty was rooted in his understanding of Southern history. He discovered, "...in his native land the evolution of a 'social bond individualism' that had emanated from the environs of Concord and Walden Pond." This collection of fourteen of Weaver's essays on the South and Southern history is presented in demonstration of George Core's point that "few critics of the South rival Richard Weaver in comprehensiveness of vision and depth of thought...."

Among the essays included are "Lee the Philosopher" (1948), "Agrarianism in Exile" (1950), "The Tennessee Agrarians" (1952), and "Two Types of Individualism" (1963).

George M. Curtis, III is Professor of History at Hanover College and James J. Thompson, Jr., is Book Review Editor of *The New Oxford Review.*

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visual observations, which may be unscheduled—e.g., brief (but important) military reconnaissance/photographic missions over the United States. *Case 3.* The oceans cover 72 per cent of the world, and the Soviets spend much time observing and measuring the oceans: currents and current boundaries, ocean eddies and fronts, internal waves, and "supertransparency." (Isn't it strange that these same topics are directly related to undersea warfare, and the Soviets have a vital interest in non-acoustic ASW?) Are these cases civil or military days in the tabulation?

Richard D. Terry
San Clemente, Calif.

Rebel with a Cause

I can see why you didn't interrupt the very moving obituary of William Casey [June 5] to give the address of the "William J. Casey Fund for the Nicaraguan Freedom-Fighters"; but will you supply it now?

Frederick Elliott
New Haven, Conn.

It's Glenwood Road, Roslyn Harbor, N.Y. 11756. —LB

From Washington, Straight Sex

John McLaughlin's column "AIDS in '88" [May 8] egregiously misquotes me and misrepresents Alexander Haig's position on AIDS education. General Haig does indeed endorse teaching about monogamy and abstinence as a preventive to this dread disease. He is strenuously *opposed* to the classroom being used to promote promiscuity or "safe sex," or any other solution that fails to address the moral dimension of this issue.

Dan Mariaschin
Washington, D.C.

Biol Means

Her own conclusion notwithstanding, Nancy Pearcey's recent letter regarding surrogate motherhood, in which she emphasized paternal responsibility rather than maternal biology, is ultimately an argument in *favor* of the practice ["Letters," May 22]. It was, after all, the positive desire of William and Elizabeth Stern to have and raise a child as the focus of their lives that served as the raison d'être of the surrogate contract. William Stern not only acknowledged his general obligation as a biological father—he entered into the arrangement precisely and solely because he wanted a child and because his wife wanted the joys and burdens of child rearing. Is there any doubt he will discharge his parental duties more effectively as

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the head of a family and principal breadwinner than as a visitor to a strange home and contributor of child support?

I should think the creation of nuclear families, even through surrogate contracts, would be regarded as, at least, inoffensive, and thus entitled to legal recognition. Those who are disturbed by the sundering of the "mother-child dyad" would do better encouraging abstinence or appropriate forms of contraception by teenagers who might otherwise resort to abortion, abandonment, or neglect, rather than condemning a contract that enshrines the principle of parental self-sacrifice.

Seth A. Halpern
Scarsdale, N.Y.

Charity Begins in Moscow

The Reagan Administration, while still coping with the inherited and painful issues of being out-SALTed and out-MIRVed by the Soviets ["Reagan's Suicide Pact," May 22], has unexpectedly discovered the new embassy in Moscow is over-BUGged and is at a loss as to what to do with this piece of real estate in a country that has no branches of Century 21.

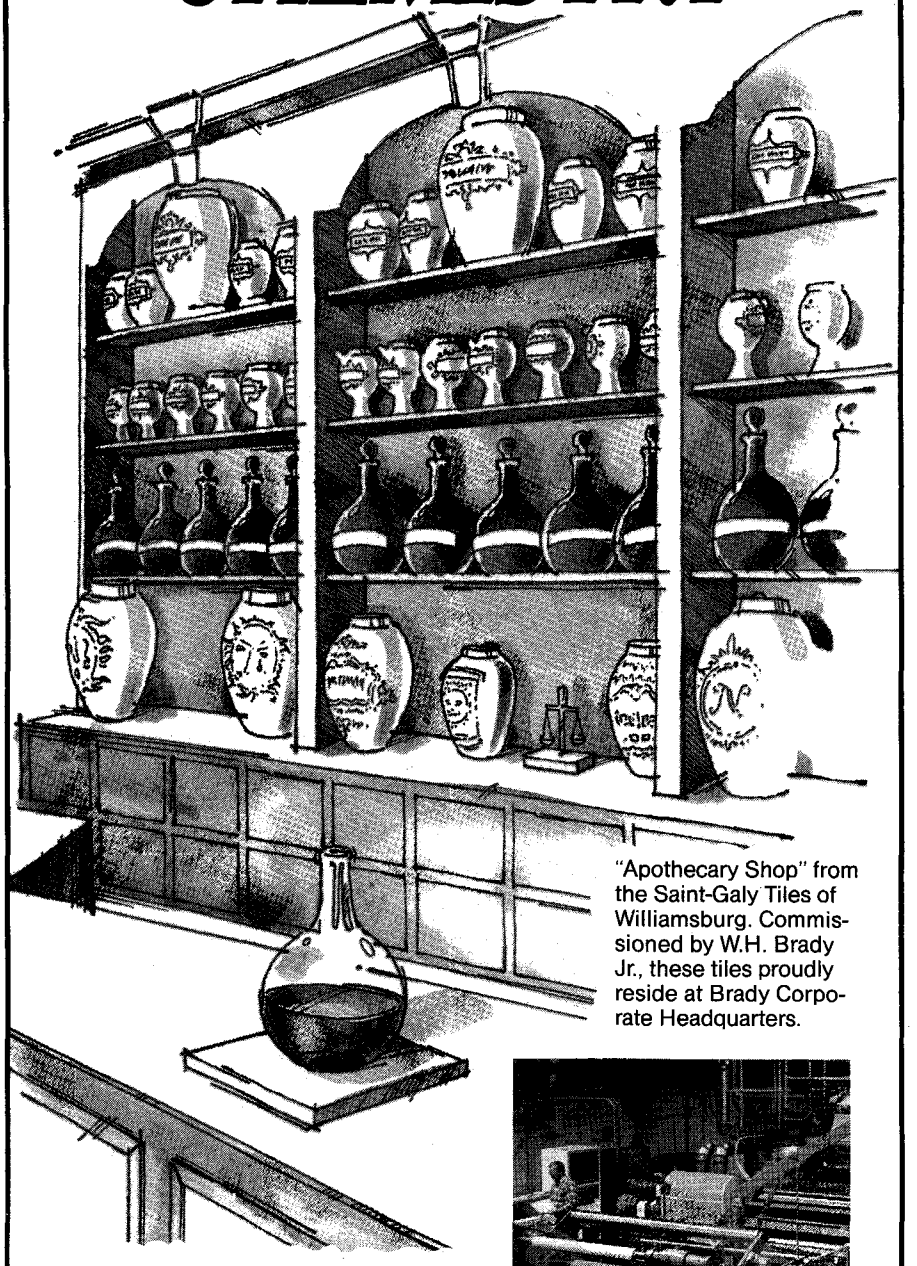
James Reston, in his *New York Times* column, proposed swapping two buildings: our embassy in Moscow for the Soviet one in D.C. This scenario is based upon two presumptions: 1) that the Soviets will agree to such a swap; 2) that our interest is merely to recoup the building costs of the embassy.

Instead of this minimalistic approach, what we have here is a once-in-a-lifetime chance to tilt the geopolitical system in our favor by giving our building in Moscow to a country that was neglected by our diplomats and strategists as mercilessly as Albania; a country that is denied by its destiny any kind of American aid; a country that, more than any other, deserves regal quarters for its diplomats in Moscow, for it reigned over Russia for some three hundred years . . . Let's wrap a red ribbon around our bugged embassy and on the Fourth of July give it to the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The Russians, who will soon be celebrating a great historical event—the first millennium of the Christening of Russia—would hardly be in a position to deny their Mongolian brethren such a present. This gift will also provide us with the chance to gain a grateful and durable (historically speaking) ally strategically located between Russia and China.

Ilya Levkov
New York, N.Y.

CHEMISTRY



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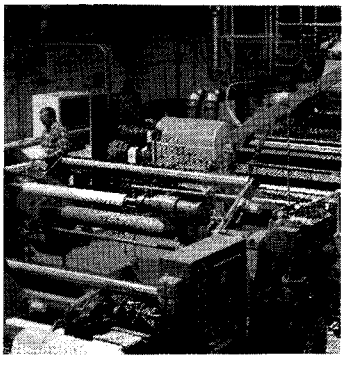

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"You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war."

So read the cable from a jingoistic and powerful American publisher to an artist in Cuba. The publisher was then engaged in fanning the fires that eventually erupted into the Spanish-American War.

Today, America is awash in warmongering of another sort. Many of America's leaders in the public and private sectors are marching militantly toward a trade war nobody can win—and which would be waged largely against the very nations that are America's friends, and its military allies.

Here are some of the volleys the trade-warriors are firing:

● The House, by four votes, recently approved the Gephardt amendment to its omnibus trade bill. The amendment has been labeled a punitive measure aimed mostly at Japan by editorialists of some of America's leading newspapers, and by leading economists.

Should the Gephardt formula become law, any nation running an "excessive and unwarranted" trade surplus with the U.S. would be expected to voluntarily act to reduce the surplus. If volunteerism doesn't work, then the U.S., by any means it sees fit —including tariffs, quotas, or any other devices—would cut the surplus by 10 percent a year.

Such unilateral action would no doubt violate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which the U.S. has signed and long supported. It would also sharply limit the options of the President, who under current law has the authority to negotiate trade disputes—and impose the sort of tariffs recently invoked against Japan. Both in law and in principle, the U.S. can and should refuse to accept unfair trade practices by other countries.

U.S. trade officials are currently engaged in a new round of negotiations to amend and broaden GATT. What kind of clout can America bring to the table if its trading partners know they're facing unilateral penalties, and GATT be damned?

● The House-passed trade bill itself—like its counterpart now before the Senate—is full of protectionist pitfalls even without the Gephardt amendment. The bills provide, for example, that if any government program by any nation with which America trades has the effect of benefiting a specific industry within that nation, then the U.S. may impose countervailing duties. On the surface the proposal seems reasonable. But our trading partners could point to agricultural subsidies to U.S. farmers as precisely such an unfair advantage; they could say the same of cheap TVA electricity, or price-controlled natural gas, or any of the other countless "breaks" woven into the American societal fabric.

In addition to inviting acrimony and retaliation, the provision arbitrarily makes it "unfair" for a developing country to use its own natural resources to expand its industrial base and promote its economic development. That's akin to saying a country with many rivers would be unfair to use them for cheap transportation.

Do the proponents of a trade war really believe that their protectionist stance will somehow go unnoticed by our trading partners, and that other countries will fail to retaliate? Particularly since the U.S. is the world's leading exporting nation?

Important as trade is, there's much more at stake. America's major trading partners—among them Japan, Canada, the European Common Market countries, the Pacific Rim nations, Australia—are linked to this country politically and militarily, as well as economically. They are an integral part of the delicate balance that has kept the world from blowing up since the end of World War II. A trade war among allies can only create instability of the sort that could lead to dangerous military adventurism.

Protectionist brinksmanship, in short, is a very dangerous game, with special dangers for elected officials. America's most notorious and destructive trade legislation, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, was enacted in 1930. In 1932, Senator Reed Smoot lost his campaign for reelection, and Rep. Willis C. Hawley was beaten in his bid for renomination. The American people, fortunately, often mete out their own form of justice.

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FOR THE RECORD

The two fast overrides of presidential vetoes (clean water, highway construction) early in 100th Congress did it: It got Senate Republicans good and mad. Result, says *Washington Post* political reporter **Helen Dewar**, has been successful Republican filibusters of major bills, including the whopping defense bill. (At stake, amendment to defense bill to force narrow interpretation of ABM Treaty, i.e., to prevent SDI testing in space.) . . . Sen. **Thad Cochran**, secretary of the Senate Republican Conference, says: "We're not going to sit back as spectators and see the Democrats do it to the President . . . do it to us." Adds deputy Minority Leader **Alan Simpson**: "Okay, we're in the minority but we're not . . . wandering around in the wilderness. There are 46 of us [Republicans], and we're telling the Democrats, get the wax out of your ears and listen to us." . . . Actually, Cochran and Simpson command only 41 solid GOP votes: missing from lineup, **Chafee**, **Cohen**, **Kassebaum**, **Stafford**, and **Weicker**. . . . Also on the offensive, **Ed Meese**, at Justice, who has named Assistant Attorney General **William Bradford Reynolds** Counsel to Justice Department. This has outraged Sens. **Joseph Biden**, **Edward Kennedy**, and **Howard Metzenbaum**, who successfully blocked Reynolds's nomination to No. 3 spot at Justice two years ago.

With **Gary Hart** out and **Jesse Jackson** ahead in polls, Democrats are looking to non-starters in presidential race. A Boston radio-station poll of Iowa Democrats who say they will vote in caucus came up with Teddy Kennedy first (26 per cent), **Mario Cuomo** second (25 per cent). . . . Cuomo continues to deny he's running, but *Chicago Sun-Times* says **Vincent Tese**, the governor's chief economic advisor, is soliciting support from Chicago financial community.

Shailo, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

"He's just discovered a new source of research funding."

. . . Says Prof. **Steven Wayne** of George Washington University: "He [Cuomo] is waiting to be tapped on the shoulder." . . . For what it's worth, Rep. **Stephen Solarz** (D., N.Y.) has given his endorsement to latest entrant, Sen. **Paul Simon** (Ill.), the liberal's liberal. Solarz finds in Simon "the progressiveness" of **FDR**, "the independence" of **Truman**, "the thoughtfulness" of **Stevenson**, "the wisdom" of **JFK**, "the economic justice" of **LBJ**, "the warmth" of **Hubert Humphrey**, "the commitment to human rights" of **Jimmy Carter**. . . . Sen. **Bill Bradley** of New Jersey, a moderate not in the race but centrist enough to be attractive to Southerners, will gain visibility in New Hampshire when he receives honorary degree from Dartmouth later this month. . . . The Gary Hart story won't go away. **William Morrow** & Co. has canceled contract for Hart campaign book, *One Man's Luck*; *National Enquirer* reports Hart told **Donna Rice** she would be his First Lady (wife **Lee**, at 51, is too old); *Miami Herald* reporters **Jim McGee** and **Tom Fiedler**, who broke the Hart story, have donated their gumshoes to a U. of Missouri Journalism School fundraiser; and a reader of *New York Post* commented on affair: "Our elderly President might take occasional naps during dull meetings and may not recall transactions with Iran and Nicaragua. However, there is credible evidence that he remembers his name, his age, and where he slept last night."

Qaddafi Watch: Former Libyan Amb. to Austria **Ezzedin Ghadamsi** was wounded by a gunman in a Vienna street last week, the second attempt on his life since he broke with Qaddafi two years ago. . . . Australian Prime Minister **Bob Hawke** has ordered Libyan embassy in Canberra closed and expelled its two-member staff for providing funding to rebels in New Guinea and to separatists in New Caledonia. . . . **Fidel Castro** continues to insist that in his 28 years in power there has "never been a single person tortured [or] a single case of a prisoner who has been the subject of physical abuse." According to Americas Watch, a New York-based human-rights group, Castro's Cuba has held larger numbers of people for political crimes (compared to population) for longer periods than any other country in the world (and that includes the Soviet Union). . . . Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Father **Miguel d'Escoto**, in a speech in the Congo, attacked the role Catholic Church has played in opposing Sandinista oppression in Nicaragua and added: "The Pope does not understand Christ's message." "If I am faced with the choice between religion and my country," he added, "I will choose my fatherland." . . . Twenty years of strained relations between France and Canada, touched off by **Charles de Gaulle**'s toast "*Vive le Québec Libre!*" was ended by **François Mitterrand**'s address to Canadian Parliament last week, which ended with the words: "*Vive le Canada! Vive la France!*"

In recent months Congress has found time to pass joint resolutions setting aside certain days, weeks, and months, such as "National Child Identification and Safety Information Day," "National Outreach to the Rural Disabled Day," "National Alopecia Areata Awareness Week," "Developmental Disabilities Awareness Month."

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THE WEEK

☐ A dispute between the Gay Olympics and the real Olympics has made it to the Supreme Court.

☐ The State Department has recalled its *Dictionary of International Relations Terms* because of an unholy clamor on the Right about some of its definitions, but who authorized those definitions in the first place? Prime example: "*Contras*—shortened form of the word '*contrarevolucionarios*,' the term the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua uses for the guerrilla forces fighting against them. The Contras comprise former members of the Somozist National Guard, dissident right-wing former Sandinistas, and the Miskito Indian minority." Question: What is a right-wing Sandinista? Meanwhile, the *Dictionary* admits that the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa is supported by the Soviet Union, among other elements, but makes no mention of the fact that many ANC leaders are Communist Party members. Very odd.

☐ The AIDS scare has had one good side effect: The Administration has approved a new rule allowing "desperately ill patients" access to certain experimental drugs. The *Washington Post* objects that "this is an area where strict government regulation is imperative. The new regulations make doctors and scientists the ultimate decision-makers." And rightly so, in their fields of competence: The dying are entitled to some special latitude. What on earth would regulation protect them from? Swollen feet? Liberalism as we know it can't let go of the idea that the state should decide who gets what.

☐ President Richard Nixon has written to William J. Casey's eulogist, as follows: "Dear Bishop McGann: In view of your statement at Bill Casey's funeral expressing your opposition to aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, I thought you might like to see the enclosed copy of a speech I made at the annual convention of the American Newspaper Publishers last year. After you read it, I hope you will understand why, along with many other Americans, I shall be contributing to the Bill Casey fund for aid to the anti-Communist Contras."

☐ The estranged wife of former state senator Julian Bond told Atlanta police recently that her estrangee uses cocaine. What's more, she accused Atlanta mayor Andrew Young of using it too. Then she took it all back. But a federal grand jury is investigating whether or not Young called Mrs. Bond and told her to shut up. Young, an ordained minister, says the call was "pastoral." He also suggested there is a Republican strategy to pick on Democrats "to share the bad front-page news with President Reagan." We are confident justice will be done. But it would sure explain Jimmy Carter's UN policy.

☐ This spring, the Harvard-Radcliffe Conservative Club brought a South African diplomat to campus to speak. Or tried to—the usual suspects blockaded two of three exits from the hall, and the cops whisked the diplomat away. Dean A. Michael Spence then told the *Harvard Crimson* that the administration had "the right to regulate the frequency of visits" by controversial speakers, and that "once a week would be too many." When conservatives and liberals jumped up and down, Dean Spence explained, "I had no intention of restricting the number of controversial speeches." Sounds like they need communications skills in the core curriculum. The dean's reason for his original position—no trouble, please—was, according to the *Crimson*, that security costs too much. Maybe so. But suspending protestors is free.

☐ GRANDMA SOCIALISM—On May Day, Mikhail Gorbachev initiated an "individual labor" law that legalizes businesses in 19 fields, including plumbing, carpentry, and auto repair. Workers cannot legally be hired for these private enterprises, however, so staffing is limited to family members. Says one young moonlighter, who has no intention of registering his interior-decorating business with the state: "This law is for old ladies who knit socks." Meanwhile, fit-as-a-fiddle Fidel Castro is still on a health kick, exhorting older men, especially, to exercise. Fidel himself has just finished shutting down Cuba's popular farmer's markets (that country's only vestige of laissez-faire), and is bent on enforcing one compulsory Saturday workday a month. *Time* magazine recently asked a weekend layabout what he thought about regular workouts. His reply: "Exercise is for grandfathers."

☐ As we see from the frantic imposition of censorship

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Frances Kendall and Leon Louw
Foreword by Samuel Motsuenyane

"The proposals set forth in *After Apartheid*," says **Bayard Rustin**, "offer the first real hope that the absolutely critical constitutional questions in South Africa can be addressed successfully. I commend this book to all Americans."

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

BY ENDING his candidacy, Gary Hart did the Democrats a big favor, political soothsayers here aver. Without Snow White, the door is now open for one of the Seven Dwarfs to emerge from the Democratic convention at the head of a party united in the belief that its nominee is heir to a generational mantle that Hart had spuriously claimed for himself. (Hart is older than all of the remaining candidates save Dukakis and Simon.)

"The youth and freshness of the new Democratic nominee," notes a DNC senior staffer, "will strike the same chord of optimism that the Hart campaign strove for in 1984." Because of Ronald Reagan's eight-year dominance of his party, the Republicans are an election away from developing their own group of under-fifty candidates. Meanwhile, the likely nomination of an old-school, sixtyish Bush or Dole will make the contrast between the past (Republicans) and the future (Democrats) that much starker.

If 1988 has begun to look like 1960, the generational similarities between the two elections have helped to create that impression, a fact that has not been lost on the new breed of Democratic candidates. Watch out, Republicans! The 1988 Democratic shibboleth? *Vig-ah!*

Less than one year ago, many pols thought that Pat Robertson and his conservative supporters could wield some influence at the Republican convention next summer—something like a Republican mirror image of Jesse Jackson. As Republican pollster Robert Teeter observed at the time, the consensus was that "if a candidate could mobilize the disparate factions of the evangelical Christian vote, then he could be significant." But the recent PTL scandal with its daily revelations of excess, along with problems within the Robertson campaign itself, may have damned hopes for a surge of the Christian Right in politics, at least this time around.

Robertson's strategy still seems plausible, however: convert religious support into political support. In 1986, televangelists reached into an estimated one hundred million homes and raised more than $2 billion. Robertson alone raised $182 million. By comparison, the total registration in the Republican Party is roughly 35 million, and the total income of the three major Republican committees was just $110 million. Robertson, then, has an immediate advantage in financing and name recognition. And in key caucus states like Iowa and Michigan (where, in a February straw poll, Robertson garnered almost 53 per cent of Republican delegates), plus critical Southern primary states, where the Republican Party is small, Robertson's religious supporters could outnumber traditional party Republicans.

But plausible though the strategy may be, Robertson's tie to PTL's Jim Bakker (whom he once employed at the CBN network) and a growing aversion to televangelism among Christians in general are interfering with the smooth conversion of TV viewers into voters. "It just hasn't transferred," says a former Robertson campaign consultant. "The scandal engulfing the evangelists is going to do to Pat Robertson what Watergate did to Jerry Ford. After Watergate, Republicans became dispirited. They just didn't vote."

Besides the evangelical scandal, Robertson has problems of his own. He's being investigated by the IRS for illegal use for political purposes of funds contributed to his nonprofit organization, and he's suing for libel two congressmen who claim he used the political influence of his father (a U.S. senator) to avoid combat in Korea.

Robertson, along with fellow TV preachers, is also seeing a significant drop in his fundraising campaign. His year-long petition drive for three million support signatures is creeping along with just 600,000 at last report, and his base of operations has retreated from Washington back to Virginia Beach.

Why then is Robertson still considered strong in Michigan, viable in Iowa, and powerful in South Carolina? "Robertson will be fine until he meets with a little success," says a campaign expert. "Now he's left alone because he's unthreatening. If people see that he's really got a chance, rank-and-file Republicans, as well as the press, will step up attacks. There'll be a backlash to any success Pat Robertson achieves."

For the record: Al Haig's stand on AIDS is as follows: If there is to be AIDS education in schools, it should focus on the teaching of monogamy and abstinence. The classroom should never be used to promote "safe sex" or promiscuity. —CATO

whenever there's a Moscow Book Fair, the Kremlin fears literature—especially popular literature—at least as much as it fears explicit anti-Soviet propaganda. After all, Soviet citizens are used to discounting propaganda, no matter what side it comes from; whereas good novels will sell like hot *blini*. Comes now a venture called Liberty Publishing House, which is engaged in publishing, in Russian, all sorts of books that have simply not been available in the Soviet Union. Based in New York City and run by political analyst Ilya Levkov, Liberty is putting out handsome paperback translations of books such as Tom Clancy's submarine-chase thriller, *The Hunt for Red October*, plus original works in Russian such as Vassily Aksyonov's *In Search of Melancholy Baby* (the English translation of which, in turn, is soon to be published by Random House). Liberty is doing its part. What is now needed is a way of getting these books into the hands of people who thirst for them. Airdrops, anyone?

☐ Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker's master plan has failed. He has sought to bring order to southern Africa through a series of understandings between the front-line states and South Africa. These would have ended South African aid to anti-Marxist guerrillas in Mozambique and Angola in exchange for a removal of Cuban troops from Angola and a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem. In fact, nothing has changed in Namibia. The Cubans

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remain in Angola. The front-line states and South Africa continue bitter enemies. At least Angola has seen a shift in U.S. policy, from uneasy neutrality to active support of the UNITA rebels. But there has been no shift in Mozambique, where Crocker's original conciliatory policy remains operational, so that the same Administration that supports the anti-Communists in Angola supports the Communists in Mozambique against the anti-Communist Renamo rebels. Just last week George Shultz assured Mozambique that it could plan on continued U.S. support against *its* Contras. Explain that one if you can.

☐ A TV station that shall remain nameless promises an "in-depth" examination of condoms. How else can you do it?

☐ Winner of this year's Bulwer-Lytton Fiction Contest (a contest to see who can write the worst) is Sheila Richter of Minneapolis. She wins a computer and "whatever public humiliation comes her way," according to officials. Here is her masterpiece, which took ninety long seconds to compose: "The notes blatted skyward as the sun rose over the Canada geese, feathered rumps mooning the day, webbed appendages frantically pedaling unseen bicycles in their search for sustenance, driven by cruel Nature's maxim, 'Ya wanna eat, ya gotta work,' and at last I knew Pittsburgh."

☐ How's this for luck? Mr. Buddy Herrera of Coral Gables a) got his first hole-in-one after forty years of golf, b) got *another* hole-in-one two holes later, and c) was playing with three priests.

☐ How's this for bad luck? The National Republican Institute on International Affairs was in Fiji holding its conference on Democracy when the government was overthrown by the military.

Zero Plus Zero

LIKE A STRING of redundant noughts after a decimal point, the zero options for nuclear-arms cuts in Europe continue to proliferate.

The first, the *Ur*-zero, was the proposal the Reagan Administration made, in the heat of the European and American freeze campaign five years ago, to show that we were men of good will (and that the Kremlin gerontocrats were not). You don't like our Pershing IIs and cruises? we said to the Soviets and peaceniks. Fine—let's get rid of all intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

That battle was won—more by Reagan's (and Margaret Thatcher's, and Helmut Kohl's) steadfastness than by clever debating points. But now, as the world knows, the next generation of Russian leaders —the Kremlin's equivalent of New Coke—has come back at us with our own proposal, and then some. Let us, the Soviets suggest, get rid of short-range missiles as well. Hence the zero-zero option.

For a while there, Helmut Kohl was making recalcitrant noises. But, faced with a split in his governing coalition (the détentist Free Democrats like the idea) and unwilling to bear the entire burden of sensible thinking for the Alliance, he has indicated that he would be prepared to forgo all intermediate- and short-range missiles, except the aging and probably inaccurate Pershing I missiles, which belong to West Germany (though their warheads are under American lock and key). Call it the zero-almost-zero option.

The problem with all these options is that they leave the West, at the end, with diminished options. There would remain America's intercontinental arsenal. There would remain the British and French deterrents. There would remain tactical (battlefield) nuclear weapons. There might remain the Pershing I missiles. There will be—soon, one hopes—SDI. But the possibility of flexible response to Soviet aggression would be gone. Which would make the threat of Soviet conventional aggression that much more potent. The Soviets did not call the zero-option bluff when it was first made because they were counting on the peace movement to achieve their objectives for them at no cost to themselves. That didn't work. Now they are willing to make a sacrifice—while leaving in place their conventional advantage, and the psychological advantage that grows from it.

Zero plus zero is still nothing.

Stark Military Doubts

PRESIDENT REAGAN called the men who lost their lives on the *Stark* "heroes." In fact, the *Stark*'s failure to defend itself is the latest addition to the sad litany of the last decade. In 1980 our helicopters malfunctioned in the Iranian desert, aborting a poorly organized expedition to rescue the hostages. In 1983 we lost 241 Marines and sailors in an undefended building in Beirut. A too-little-noticed analysis of our Grenadian victory, also in 1983, indicates that we might well have been thrown back into the sea if we had met serious opposition: There was poor coordination, inter-service rivalry, and sloppy tactics on the ground. It took us two days to subdue a few Cubans armed with picks and shovels.

In the U.S. Navy the expression is "fight the ship," which means use your equipment to its full capability under combat conditions. In the *Stark* episode in the Persian Gulf we seem to have yet another example of our apparent overall inability to "fight the ship." What good does it do to equip a frigate with millions of dollars' worth of advanced electronic gear if the

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captain turns it off and goes to sleep, whereafter the ship is struck by two primitive Exocet missiles? The Exocet can be diverted by pulling a raft behind your ship, or floating tinfoil into the air above it.

With all of that sophisticated equipment on board, the Exocet was first sighted only seconds before impact, not by far-scanning radar, but by—a lookout. "Thar she blows." We were back in the days of Moby Dick.

Admiral Mahan formulated it, but every American strategist since Washington and Jefferson has understood the bottom line: The United States is, strategically, an island, and we depend on the freedom of the world's waterways. When this principle was challenged in 1812, we went to war against the British. When it was challenged in 1917, we went to war against the Kaiser. The waterways must remain open. No Iraqi and no Iranian can be permitted to close them. But we need commanders at sea who can fight the ship, and officials at home who will support them when they do. Does no one get court-martialed any more?

Jamming Flim-Flam

IN A MOVE clearly aimed at polishing the apple of *glasnost*, the Soviet Union suddenly has ceased its jamming of the Voice of America. Gorbachev fans in the West are hailing this as another sign of incipient Soviet niceness. But engineers at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) report that many of the Soviet jammers previously aimed at the Voice of America have been redirected against RFE/RL frequencies. What on the surface appears to be a sign of Kremlin broadmindedness is but a cover for intensifying jamming of the radio station Moscow fears most.

This is a replay of January, when the USSR ceased its jamming of BBC Russian broadcasts but turned those jamming transmitters against RFE/RL instead. Even prior to these developments, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty was the most heavily jammed radio station in the world. Roughly 75 per cent of the USSR's massive jamming effort was aimed at it, a figure that will now approach 90 per cent. From 1973 to 1980—the hallucinatory heyday of détente—the Soviet Union ceased jamming most Western broadcasters, including the Voice of America. Jamming of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty continued without interruption, however. Jamming of other stations resumed only in August 1980, when a panicky Kremlin sought to limit the repercussions of the emerging crisis in Poland.

Why are Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty thus singled out by the Kremlin? Because unlike other Western broadcasters, the Munich-based radio stations concentrate on *internal* developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe, thereby fulfilling their unique mission as "surrogate home services." The Soviet leadership can tolerate, barely, broadcasts by the Voice of America, the BBC, and other Western radio stations, which normally focus on world events or news from Western countries. But the Kremlin has never been willing to accept RFE/RL's role in providing the peoples of the USSR and Eastern Europe with accurate and in-depth news about events in their own countries.

Jamming of international radio broadcasts violates several treaties to which the USSR is a signatory. The BBC estimates the jamming costs the Soviet Union up to $1.2 billion per year—many times the combined budgets of all the Western stations broadcasting to the East. The only effective way to overcome jamming is with more powerful transmitters. That is why the modernization of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's woefully inadequate transmitting network should be a top national priority.

The Boland Deviation

TO HEAR THE huffing and puffing in the usual progressive quarters, you'd gather that the Boland Amendment was a sacred cornerstone of the law of the land. In point of fact, it was an obscure rider on an appropriations bill. It was in effect for only one year, Congress having thought better of it. And it carried no criminal sanctions.

George Will comments incisively: "What has turned up [in the hearings] is proof of what no one doubted: that Reagan knew of and supported public and private efforts to keep the Contras afloat until Congress's changeable mind could be changed yet again. He should long ago have argued that laws like the Boland Amendment are not laws. They are unconstitutional in intent; they are pseudo-legal static in the system."

The hearings are in effect an inquiry, made after the repeal of Prohibition, into whether certain Administration officials were frequenting speakeasies. The Pecksniff set is avoiding the further question whether Ollie North and Richard Secord were serving the interests of the Republic, interests that Congress it-

Beyond the Blue Horizon

Launched with stealth, the Exocet
Streaks above the waves to set
Surface ships aflame before
Fo'c'sle sailors reach the door,
Prompting one to hedge one's bet
On a flattop's silhouette.

W. H. VON DREELE

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...INCLUDING SLING SHOTS, BOWS AND ARROWS, WATER PISTOLS....
DID YOU EVER GET THE FEELING YOU'RE BEING RIPPED OFF BUT YOU CAN'T PUT YOUR FINGER ON IT?
WE'RE WILLING TO SCRAP: MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES SHORT RANGE ETC. ETC. ETC.
Blaine
Blaine, *Hamilton Spectator* / Rothco

self seemed to acknowledge when it declined to renew Boland.

But of course these are points that could be made with far more force by Ronald Reagan. He took an oath to uphold the Constitution, not to sacrifice the national interest to congressional oscillations. Lincoln argued that prudence forbade him to sacrifice the whole of the Constitution to the habeas corpus clause, and history has vindicated him. In some ways, Reagan has an even stronger case. He should step forth and present it, instead of letting patriots take the heat for acting on his convictions.

Pas de Scandale à Gauche

IN BOTH Congress and the media, the investigative imperative now attaches itself exclusively to anti-Communist activities: of the FBI, the CIA, the National Security Council, and of course the White House (along with some private fundraisers). Peering into pro-Communist activities—such as those of young Benjamin Linder, killed in Nicaragua by Nicaraguans who would prefer not to live under Communism, thank you, and who resent outsiders laboring to consolidate tyranny—would fall under the heading of "McCarthyism."

Congress has good reason to avoid turning its searchbeam onto the Left: Many of its own members might be implicated. Congressman Edward Boland (D., Mass.), the author of the on-again, off-again, now-defunct provision against aid to the Contras, was himself among the ten House members who in 1984 wrote a sycophantic letter to "Dear Comandante" Daniel Ortega, virtually begging the Communists to apply enough cosmetic democracy to allow the Democrats to oppose Ronald Reagan's Central American policies without too much embarrassment. In 1982, as head of the House Intelligence Committee, Boland doctored a committee report to conceal collaboration between several House Democrats and the Soviet-front World Peace Council. California's Ronald Dellums, who also had chummy personal ties to the Communist government of Grenada and to Fidel Castro himself, was one of them. Colorado's Pat Schroeder is another who, hot to look into Ronald Reagan's policy of "intervention" in Nicaragua, has tried to conceal her own ties to a pro-Sandinista group—though she has also publicly embraced a high Sandinista official, Culture Minister Ernesto Cardenal. Two other congressmen and a senator have been strongly rumored to have had amorous affairs with a woman in the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington. The list, unfortunately, could be extended.

If the public is entitled to the full truth about our policy in Nicaragua, it's entitled to know the unbowdlerized facts about congressional Democrats' relations with the Sandinistas. If the Democrats are reluctant to investigate their own, well, we have a free press, don't we, on the alert for hypocrisy, conflicts of interest, and, above all, illicit romance? An "adversary press" should be able to check out the Dellums Left along with the Reagan Right. It is hardly likely that all the furtive doings are on one side. Or has pro-Communist activity ceased to be scandalous?

$5, Please

IF BERNHARD GOETZ is acquitted of attempted murder, he can thank three of his putative victims. Barry Allen refused to testify, pleading the Fifth Amendment because he had not been offered immunity from possible robbery charges. Troy Canty admitted on the witness stand that he has given three different versions of how the shooting occurred.

But the star witness, from Goetz's point of view, was James Ramseur, who first refused to testify, and then, under threat of a contempt citation, took the stand, blew his stack under questioning, cursed the judge, took off his shoe, was restrained from throwing it at Goetz's lawyer, and wound up with *six* contempt charges, which he said he didn't mind, inasmuch as he's already doing eight to 25 years for raping and sodomizing a pregnant woman on a Bronx rooftop. The jurors must have been glad they hadn't met this guy in a subway car.

All this went far to offset Goetz's own damaging taped confessions that he became a "monster" at the time of the shooting and regretted only that he'd run out of bullets.

A correspondent of ours raises an interesting point.

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Everyone acknowledges that the four youths "asked" Goetz for five dollars. Apart from being a large amount to request from a stranger, that's not pocket change: It requires the requestee to pull out his wallet and open it. Anyone who does that is probably intimidated and vulnerable already. Asking for five dollars is a good tactic for a mugger intent on sizing up his prey.

Speed-Limit Tutelage: Is 65 Enough?

INCREASING THE 55-mph speed limit was the bait tied to the porcine highway bill passed by Congress over President Reagan's veto. However, even though the states may now raise the speed limit to 65 on certain rural highways, many of them are stalled on doing so. The unrealistic national speed limit in effect continues, another nuisance foisted on us by benevolent autocrats.

Most speeding tickets are simply a regressive tax on people too poor to afford a decent radar detector. But the cat-and-mouse game between speed traps and radar detectors is not without serious costs. Unduly slow traffic literally slows down the economy. Time is money, and even sixty miles an hour still leaves U.S. goods and commuters moving about twenty miles an hour slower than is common (and legal) on European highways that are narrower than ours. Another problem is generic disrespect for the law. Any law that must be capriciously enforced, because it is not respected by the people, undermines the community support that is vital to public security. To get a ticket for traveling at 65 mph, as many still do, is to be arbitrarily singled out for punishment, making crime a lottery.

To impose 55 mph on a nationwide basis was always a heavy-handed intrusion into something that should depend on local needs and conditions. True, "interstate commerce" could be used as a legal rationale for treating high-speed driving in rural Nevada the same as in New York City. But this country should be able to accommodate those who have to travel hundreds of miles from one town to the next, and do not have access to elaborate mass-transit systems such as the one their taxes built in Washington. The Federal Government could reasonably set some rules, such as annual safety inspections for vehicles, and then let compliant states set their own speed limits, if any.

Nationalizing the speed limit was not done to "save lives," but to save fuel. Somebody once decided that making polyester shirts and plastic bags out of oil was more important than transportation. Defenders of 55 mph have now changed the subject, claiming that it is actually public-health legislation in disguise. If time had no value, then this safety argument could be used to defend a speed limit of thirty or less. In any case, the safety argument is weak. Highway deaths had been falling just as rapidly before the law was passed, and much of the recent improvement has been on regional roads that never did have a higher speed limit. The "double nickel" proponents are simply taking credit for radial tires, disc brakes, halogen headlights, front-wheel drive, and the switch to moderate drinking. In a larger sense, the 55-mph speed limit surely kills people, by wasting the skills and equipment of the nation's police force. Imagine how many lives could be saved if half of those policemen sitting idly in speed traps were freed to prevent violent crime.

Paying for Justice

FORMER SECRETARY OF LABOR Raymond Donovan and seven co-defendants were found innocent of a supposed scheme to defraud the New York City Transit Authority of $7.4 million on a subway contract. Thus perished one of the major components of the "sleaze factor"—one of the hot Democratic issues in the 1984 campaign, until it turned out that Mrs. Ferraro's husband rented to mobsters, proprietors of gambling dens, porno salesmen, and other unvirtuous types, at which point sleaze went on the back burner.

What ought not to go on the back burner now is the question of compensation. Mr. Donovan was indicted in the fall of 1984. In the two and a half years since then, the defendants' legal team is estimated to have ingested $13 million—or nearly twice the sum originally at issue. Something has gone very, very wrong in the cost/benefit structure of litigation.

Reformers have suggested, for years, that the losing side in civil suits be required to pay the court costs of the winner. (An equitable arrangement: What, save honor, is the profit in successfully suing a libeler, if the costs are double, or triple, or quadruple, the settlement?) A similar arrangement should be worked out for prosecutions brought by the state. The defendant, if found innocent, should enjoy compensation for the expense of defending himself. Not at Edward Bennett Williams rates, but at a "reasonable scale."

No one should be mulcted until proven guilty.

Jobs

IN 1981, Europe, Canada, and the United States all had very similar unemployment rates, close to 8 per cent. Since then, unemployment has risen above 11 per cent in Europe, above 9 per cent in Canada, and is now rising in Japan. In the U.S., by contrast, unemployment has dropped to 6.2 per cent—close to a level some economists used to say was impossible without high inflation.

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From Sea to Shining Sea

As Citicorp writes down its loans
And Mexicans emit low moans,
While Argentina wonders if
It might as well walk off a cliff,
The U.S., not to be outdone,
Stands tall as Debtor Number One.

W. H. VON DREELE

Since unemployment has come down only in the U.S., this country must have done something right. The difference could not simply be budget deficits, since most other countries have larger per capita budget deficits. The obvious difference is the Reagan-Kemp tax bill, put into effect in 1983-84. However, to admit that lower tax rates create jobs is unbearably uncomfortable for professional Reagan critics. As a result, all sorts of excuses have been developed to explain away reality. The hope is to convince the U.S. voters who have those 13 million new jobs that their jobs aren't as good as the jobs they did not have before, or as good as the jobs the Europeans and Canadians still don't have.

Two common complaints are that new jobs don't pay as much as old jobs, and that some are part-time. Yet new jobs usually absorb new workers; it should be no surprise that the young and inexperienced earn less than their managers. The reduction of teenage unemployment likewise has to involve more part-time jobs, since students need time for school. If these were genuine problems, the only solution would be to stop hiring students and recent graduates.

Middle East Minuet

IN THE BACKGROUND, Soviet and American orchestras play music that is painfully out of tune, while Foreign Minister Peres of Israel and King Hussein of Jordan advance awkwardly toward the dance floor. The prelude to a peace conference will be snail's-paced, full of inscrutable nuances, rich with multilateral hypocrisy.

King Hussein feels he can take part in the proposed conference without violating the Middle East's primary political maxim: Avoid assassination—at least until tomorrow. Syria may grudgingly go along, hoping to recover some of the international standing it lost last fall when Britain exposed its involvement in a terrorist plot to blow up an Israeli jetliner.

On the Israeli side, domestic political imperatives play as much of a role as foreign policy. Foreign Minister Peres knows his peace-conference diplomacy could anger the Likud into pulling out of the coalition, forcing early elections that Peres thinks he can gain from. Prime Minister Shamir, making equal but opposite calculations, may play along with the charade if only to avoid an election.

Someone, somewhere, has decided that a Middle East peace conference should be held once every decade or so, never mind the probable outcome. Regrettably, the exercise is likely to serve only to prove the truth of Fred Allen's definition of a conference: "A gathering of important people who singly can do nothing, but together can decide that nothing can be done."

Back from the Future?

NEW YORK CITY's health commissioner, Dr. Stephen C. Joseph, sees major changes ahead for Big Apple lifestyles. By 1991, he predicts, thirty thousand New Yorkers will have died of AIDS. Not to mention another 150,000 people who will suffer and, in some cases, die from AIDS-related illnesses. He calculates that 500,000 people in the city—one in ten adults—already have the virus. This "will change everything about the city, its demography, the political and economic life of the city."

Edward Cornish of the World Future Society makes similar predictions about the whole society: He expects people to turn back to private life, to become extremely conservative about sexual morality. Porn will be Out, and romance In. Fidelity and modesty will come roaring back. Fewer women will take full-time jobs. Men and women will do less casual social mixing.

Maybe, maybe. It's a little early to adopt these sci-fi scenarios, though. If casual sex is still safer than cigarettes, it's possible the death rate won't change things all that much. But it may be that AIDS will trigger an aggressive revulsion against the "new morality" that has enjoyed the high ground for two decades. A huge moral backlash may lack only an empirical warrant, which AIDS provides.

Roma Locuta

THOUGH IT HAS been a few months since the Vatican's statement on issues of artificial reproduction, the repercussions continue. For the Vatican has trodden on sensitivities that lie deeper than those affected by its habitual position on abortion, contraception, fornication, and sodomy. In condemning such practices as artificial insemination, *in vitro* fertilization, and surrogate motherhood, the Vatican is not rebuking irresponsible and self-centered lust; it is frustrating the positive desire for biological progeny, a desire wholly detached from sexual ardor itself.

To some—maybe to most—the statement will there-

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fore seem a doctrinaire affront to common sense and human sympathy. The Vatican says no as sternly to the desperate childless couple as to the lecher and the abortionist. Those who reject the claim of Catholicism to Divine authority will probably see little reason to accept these pronouncements.

Still, Rome has issued something other than a mere authoritarian fiat. The entire statement is closely reasoned from premises in natural law, not derived from revelation as such, and is traceable to first principles in the same way a complex theorem of Euclid is traceable to simple axioms. Obvious truths always have surprising implications down the line, and there is a deep integrity in the way the Vatican is responding to the unlikely challenges of our age. Its positions aren't arbitrary: They are extensions of other positions, long maintained, which might well have been undermined, in the long run, by any corollaries other than these.

Certainly the Church has lost what's called "credibility" among those who don't invest much credence in it to begin with: The media have found plenty of "Catholic authorities" in the nation's theology departments who dispute the statement, on behalf of the electronic orthodoxy of current opinion. But when today's moral fads have gone the way of the earlier fad for eugenics, this statement will have the same foundation it has now. It may even appear in a different light to the secular world if today's enthusiasms come to look to a later generation like monstrosities.

The modern world has a self-betraying habit of alternately demanding that the Church speak out and that it shut up. In an age of rented wombs and experiments on aborted fetuses, it may be that what the world needs most, even at the secular level, is some standard of authority that isn't blown about by every wind of Gallup and refuses to participate in the general practice of inflating the moral currency to meet the demand for easy satisfactions. Any permanent standard, whatever the provenance, deserves a measure of appreciation, especially now.

Gunnar Myrdal, RIP

Is it fair to say that the esteem in which Gunnar Myrdal was held in this country was due, in part, to his nationality? That if he had been, say, Japanese, or Irish, rather than Swedish, his pronouncements would have carried a shade less weight? For there was a cultural moment there in the Fifties—the decade of the UN—in which the socialist, neutralist nations enjoyed uncontested moral authority. When Myrdal's sociological conclusions concerning the effects of separate schooling on black children were cited in *Brown* v. *Board*, embattled defenders of Jim Crow objected to letting a Swede judge America. But that, at that time, was precisely what America wanted.

Congress Fiddles

Perhaps not with the Nero touch,
  Or with enough technique
To join a string quartet in some
  Chic bistro or boutique;
But certainly those violins
  On TV will restrain
All friends of Nicaragua as
  The place goes down the drain.

W. H. von Dreele

Thus Myrdal contributed to the worst aspect of the *Brown* decision—the abolition of separate schooling not on the grounds of right or justice, as adduced from the Constitution or the Declaration, but on the say-so of social science. Which meant, the say-so of social scientists the Court happened to like. Which has meant, in practice, the jurisprudence of what the Courts wants this week.

More recently, Myrdal turned his attention to the inequality of wealth among the world's nations, which he proposed to remedy by foreign aid (he never considered inequalities of culture or of rights).

Myrdal shared the Nobel Prize for economics, astonishingly, with Friedrich Hayek.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Bill:

Recently it occurred to me that over our country's history there has been a very large "statistical imbalance" concerning the ultimate sacrifice our men have made to preserve our sacred freedoms.

Therefore, could it follow that for the next one hundred years our women should take up the sword and shield while we keep the home fires lit?

Cordially,
Jim Hibbs
Ventura, Calif.

Dear Jim: No, but I see the point you are trying to make. Cordially, Bill

☐ Memo to: Bill Buckley
From: Bill Rusher

May I intrude on your "Notes & Asides" column long enough to register my personal dissent from the conclusions recorded there, in the May 22 issue, concerning the *Washington Times*? Neither I nor Arnold Beichman, nor Harry Jaffa, nor Russell Kirk, nor

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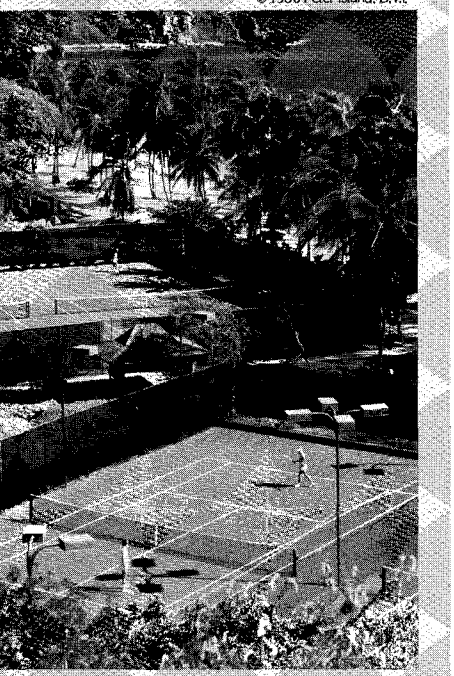

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View from the Crow's Nest

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Clare Luce, nor Admiral Moorer, nor Richard Perle, nor George Roche, nor Phyllis Schlafly, nor Frank Shakespeare, nor William Simon, nor James Watt, nor Allen Weinstein, nor any of the other members of the *Times*'s editorial advisory board, would remain there for a moment if we believed that the Unification Church was intervening in the editorial affairs of the publication.

Dear Bill: I'm sure you wouldn't. Cordially, Bill

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I recently watched one of your *Firing Line* programs, which featured as a guest Republican presidential candidate P. du Pont. At one point you question the economic justification of Governor du Pont's call for retaliatory trade restrictions and assert that Adam Smith would not agree with his position.

While I am certainly not a supporter of Pete (Pierre?) du Pont nor this type of trade policy, I am afraid, alas, that Adam Smith did see some justification for such policies. In Book IV, Chapter II of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Smith writes:

> The case in which it may sometimes be a matter of how far it is proper to continue the free importation of certain foreign goods, is, when some foreign nation restrains by high duties or prohibitions the importation of some of our manufactures into their country. Revenge in this case naturally dictates retaliation, and that we should impose the like duties and prohibitions upon the importation of some or all of their manufactures into ours [p. 467 of the Liberty Classics edition].

Collins, *Punch* / Rothco

"Run up your clock, lady?"

Smith goes on to state that this type of import restraint is especially acceptable if your country's action is likely to be a catalyst for both countries' lifting trade restrictions.

While I think we both know that this is one of the many instances where theory has not translated into economic reality, I felt obliged to point out Smith's position on this issue.

Cordially,
John J. Bethune
Assistant Professor of Economics
Bellarmine College
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Professor Bethune: Ah, but clearly Adam Smith distrusted that which was "natural," and which appeals as "revenge." See down forty or fifty lines: "There may be good policy in retaliations of this kind, when there is a probability that they will procure the repeal of the high duties or prohibitions complained of. The recovery of a great foreign market will generally more than compensate the transitory inconveniency of paying dearer during a short time for some sorts of goods. To judge whether such retaliations are likely to produce such an effect does not, perhaps, belong so much to the science of a legislator, whose deliberations ought to be governed by general principles which are always the same, as to the skill of that insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician, whose councils are directed by the momentary fluctuations of affairs. When there is no probability that any such repeal can be procured, it seems a bad method of compensating the injury done to certain classes of our people to do another injury ourselves, not only to those classes, but to almost all the other classes of them." Give up? Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

We note with interest the presence of a large Diptera (Brachycera) astride an ear of corn on the left rear of the Pleiades that constitute the centerpiece of your March 13 issue.

Is this flying Lilliputian intended to represent a roving Robber Baron, a sort of robber fly savoring the nectar of life, or is its aim, on the contrary, that of a gadfly to raise an outcry against them?

Frankly, we do not know what to make of this "lost Pleiad."

Sincerely,
Cecilia Collett
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Collett: You are referring to the horsefly on the ear of corn. What he was doing there, I do not know. Perhaps his designs were merely on your attention, in which case we are glad he succeeded. Cordially, —WFB

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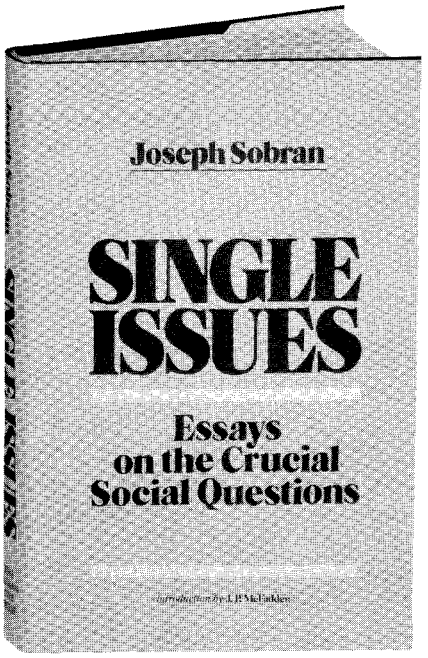

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TARGETING YOUTH

AMONG MANY Republican coups in the 1980 elections, the one considered most significant was the party's capture of the youth vote. Eighteen- to 35-year-olds are traditionally a Democratic bloc, but this group shifted from overwhelming Democratic allegiance in the early and mid Seventies to vote for Ronald Reagan and, even more importantly, to decide a number of 1980 Senate races in favor of the GOP. Many pollsters saw this as a permanent demographic change in party affiliation. Now, on the edge of 1988, Democrats are working to get the young voters back.

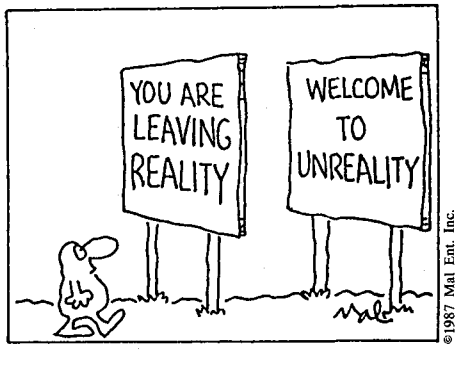
Why did the youth vote move to the Republicans? "After four years of Carter, Democrats in '80 became reactive, defensive, and opposed to change," says a Democratic think-tanker. "The GOP became the intellectual party—the party of ideas—and set in motion this whole youth movement away from the Democrats." A campaign watcher notes, "Especially in the South, young Democrats began to identify as independents, and independents as Republicans. Reagan pulled an entire bloc of voters to the Right."

Basic changes in the character of young voters in the post-Vietnam War years furthered this rightward trend. The anti-establishment baby-boom hippies of the Sixties and Seventies became the job-oriented baby-boom yuppies of the Eighties. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party stood still.

It was male members of this generation more than female who made the shift. Today, a scant 20 per cent of young men identify with the Democrats. "Two reasons for the male shift to the right surfaced from the research," explains a Democratic pollster and student of the phenomenon. "First, young men of the Eighties—yuppies, dinks [dual income, no kids], blue- and white-collar workers earning under $25,000—are a me-oriented group. They hated Carter's pleas for sacrifice. They hated the stagnation they saw in the party. But they loved Reagan's 'You can make a fortune and drive a Porsche.' Also, these former peaceniks find the hawkish aspects of the Republican Party more attractive." Continued strong identification among young women with the Democrats (now around 43 per cent, slightly over the national average) is based largely on their continuing interest in the more "compassionate" issues like civil rights and social justice, which, notwithstanding Frank Fahrenkopf's efforts at the RNC, are still seen as Democratic turf.

The number of people in this generation, and their ardor, make their allegiance crucial, especially looking ahead to the Nineties, when that group is expected to become more politically active. "We've got to position ourselves for the future," says a Gephardt consultant. "It's critical for the Democrats to get these voters in tow now so we'll have them when they're older. Republicans have had that group on their side twice. If the Democrats blow it three times in a row, we may not get them back for ages."

So, with that in mind, Democratic analysts and strategists are pressuring candidates to alter their message and approach. "We're telling them to capture the offensive in their rhetoric," says a Democratic consultant. "Optimism, idealism, growth, opportunity, citizenship, progress. We want to see their speeches filled with those words." A sometime consultant for Bruce Babbitt stresses the necessity of appealing to concrete needs. "Look at the major purchases these young people make in their lives—a house, a car, kids' education—and then appeal to their personal economic dimension. They want someone to help direct their lives, not make too many demands."



WILL THE new approach work? "It depends to a large extent on who the Democrats nominate," says a campaign analyst. "Much of the shift among young men was in reaction to Jimmy Carter. If a forward-looking candidate can make it through the nomination process, we may get that group back."

In fact, among Southern white males there has already been a movement away from the Republican Party, mostly to the up-for-grabs independent pool. "Younger voters," notes a Democratic consultant optimistically, "don't have a strong sense of party allegiance, and now we understand their attraction to 'future' rhetoric. If Republicans nominate a 'Let's preserve the Reagan legacy' candidate, the Democratic Party may re-establish itself as the party for youth."

The 1980 and 1984 elections educated the Democratic Party on where the country stood, and analysts and campaign consultants have been trying to drum that lesson into their candidates' heads ever since. "There's a strong sense that young Americans may be ready to leave Reagan and the Republicans," concludes a consultant. "If only Democrats can fight their natural leftward instinct, if candidates can just get smart, we can tap that bye-bye-Reagan spirit and set ourselves up for the next decade."

The only problem is that in the process the Democrats may lose their own identity entirely. □

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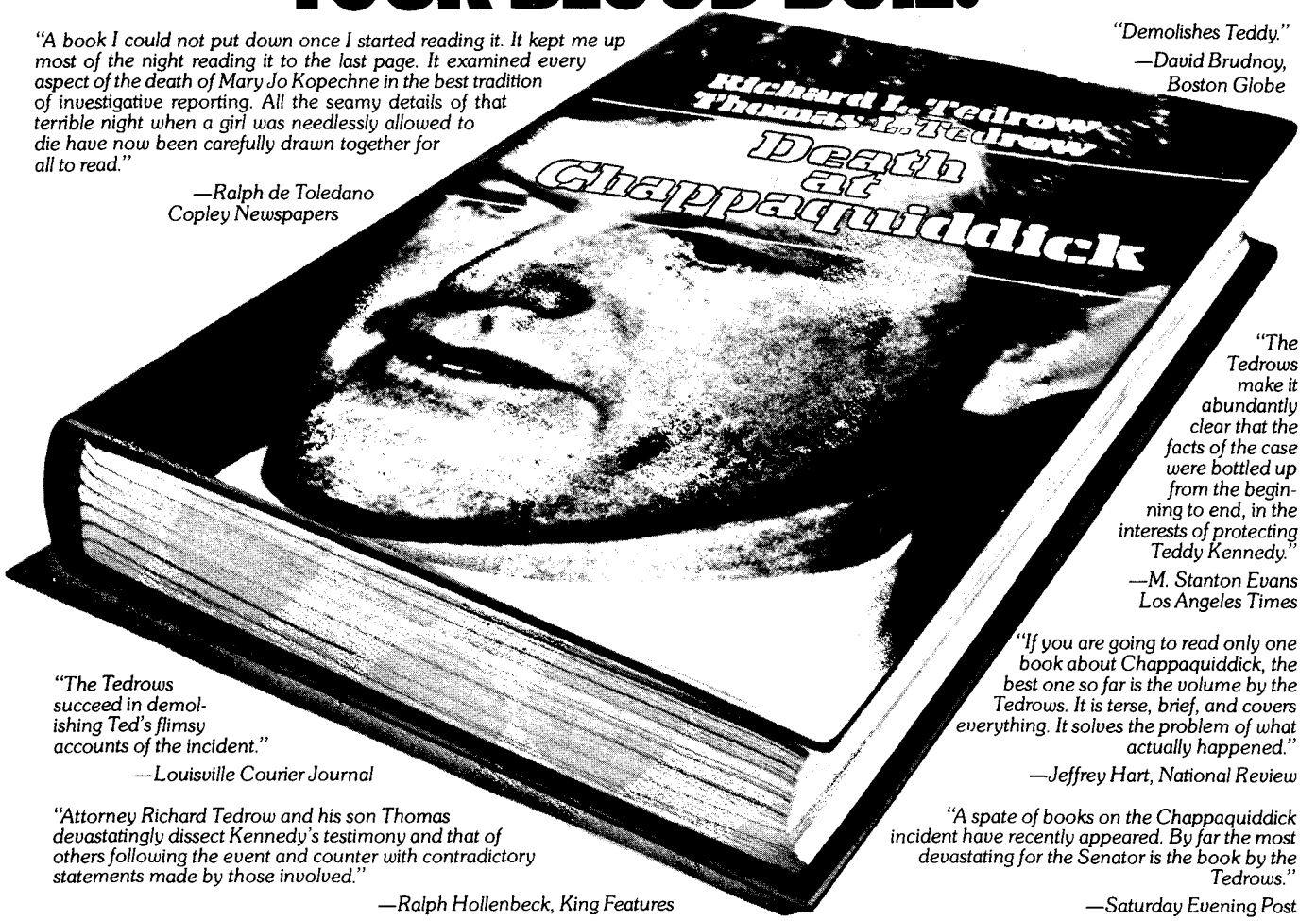
Copley Newspapers

"Demolishes Teddy."

—David Brudnoy,
Boston Globe



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THE DEMOCRACY SYNDROME, CONT'D

ARRIVING IN the District of Columbia in the late afternoon, I switched on the television kindly provided by my hotel and saw that able and honorable man, Mr. Robert C. McFarlane, being grilled by Senate Committee Counsel John Nields.

There is a fatal absurdity at the heart of such hearings. As Richard Brookhiser pointed out not long ago in *NR*, Congress kept changing its collective mind about aid to the Contras. One day it was on, another day it was off. One day it was medical and humanitarian only; another, it was military. Since the President had made it clear that his policy was to assist the Contras to overthrow the Communist government imposed on the people of Nicaragua, any attempt to achieve consistency of policy in this area was bound to involve a search for ways round the vagaries of congressional voting.

Is it not profoundly depressing to note that at a time when, if anything, Soviet covert action against our democracies is on the increase, both quantitatively and qualitatively, covert measures have—once again—become virtually impossible in the United States and, for quite different reasons, very difficult in that other Anglo-Saxon democracy beyond the ocean? The symptoms there, in the (dis)United Kingdom, are twofold: the forlorn attempt to suppress the memoirs of a disgruntled Security Service officer through a courtroom in Sydney, Australia; and the fact that on the eve of a general election, and with media and politicians wallowing in revelations about the recent past, the darker side of Whitehall feels itself overcome by inhibitions.

When the dust has settled and the disclosures wrested from Mr. McFarlane have taken their place among the trivial minutiae of history, the passage in his testimony that will be seen to have an ominous long-term significance is this one: "In the six months since the Iran-Contra controversy erupted, many people have come to believe there is something wrong with the way this country makes foreign policy. They probably don't know how wrong."

First the CIA, then the National Security Council, had tried to fill the vacuum by secretly aiding the Contras after Congress had voted against military assistance to them. It didn't work, because, as Mr. McFarlane said, "it is virtually impossible, almost as a matter of definition, to rally public support behind a policy you can't even talk about"—an epitaph for President Reagan's foreign policy, and possibly even for U.S. foreign policy per se.

Is there no silver lining anywhere? Yes, potentially. If the British electorate casts its votes in such a way that Prime Minister Thatcher stays on in 10 Downing Street for a third term, there will be a silver lining of sorts. Suddenly, the British and French nuclear deterrents will acquire a quite disproportionate importance.

Without, I hope, intruding into the territory of my British colleague Anthony Lejeune, I feel it right to point to the very real dangers of a possible return to power of the Labour Party. In 1973, the small and dwindling British Communist Party, realizing that it would never get itself elected to power, decided on a long-term strategy of penetrating the Labour Party and persuading it to adopt Communist policies as its own. Ten years later, it had achieved its objective, and the most telling electoral ploy of Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative Party in the run-up to the 1983 elections was to take full-page advertisements in the major newspapers listing, side by side, 11 identical policy proposals of the Labour and Communist Parties. These included the canceling of the Trident system and the removal of nuclear defenses—both points proposed by Labour's leader, Neil Kinnock, and overwhelmingly endorsed at the Labour Party's annual conference last fall.

MUCH THE SAME has happened to the German SPD, which, manifestly, is no longer the pro-NATO party of its former leader and chancellor Helmut Schmidt. The long-term efforts of such pro-Moscow professionals as Egon Bahr and Horst Ehmke have prevailed. In West Germany today, the name of the game is "security partnership" with the East: the antithesis of NATO.

In Moscow the other day, the veteran Labour politician Mr. Denis Healey publicly declared that the Soviets must be "praying for a Labour victory" in the British elections. He later apologized for his indelicacy in suggesting that his atheistic hosts would be indulging in so anti-Marxist an activity as prayer. That was not quite the way he put it, of course: He merely acknowledged that his remark was "unfortunate" and "offensive" to the Russians.

The harm to his own party has been done, however. As Defense Secretary, Mr. Healey was a staunch supporter of the deterrent. His career has seen many a somersault, but he is not a stupid man, and one cannot help wondering whether the "blunder" may not have been intentional. Perhaps, just perhaps, Mr. Healey was applying the balm of involuntary treachery to his disturbed conscience?

What is certain is that the only beneficiaries of the democratic syndrome as exemplified today on both sides of the Atlantic are Mr. Gorbachev and his colleagues. □

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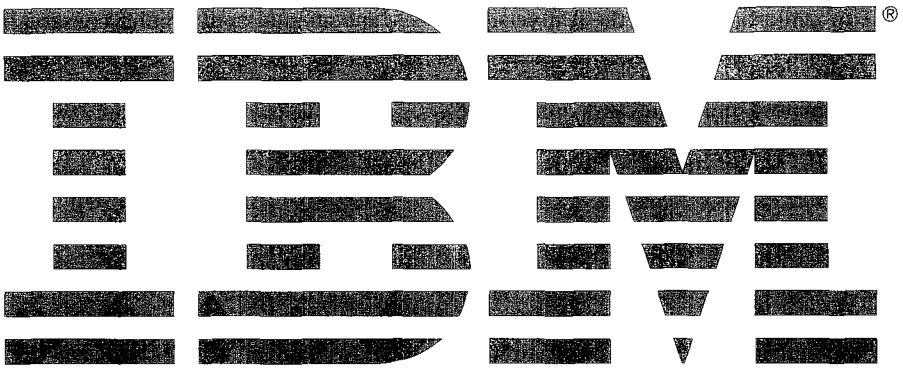

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DAVID WAGNER

BILL BENNETT'S Dilemma

WILLIAM BENNETT is an unlikely candidate for conservative cult-hero. A graduate of Harvard Law with a PhD in philosophy from the University of Texas, Bennett seems more at home in the ivy tower than in the ideological trenches; talking to Bennett is more like talking to a professor than to a politician. Ask him a question and he folds his hands and gazes into space, visibly thinking about what you're saying. It's very gratifying.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, his professorial bent, Bennett is exercising a growing influence on American education. He is eloquent, outspoken, and intellectually fearless, rushing in where politicians fear to tread. He has attacked the "educational establishment"; advocated mandatory AIDS testing for marriage licensees, prison inmates, and hospital patients; criticized colleges for tolerating drugs; decried "peace education" programs that ignore the evils of Communism; called for a cap on federal aid to college students; and assailed universities for hiking tuition.

He got into a public row with Harvard president Derek Bok when he called Harvard's new, reformed core curriculum "Core Lite" and charged that Harvard and our other elite universities are "pious, self-congratulatory, and suffused with the aura of moral superiority," as well as obsessed with money and too little concerned about the intellectual and moral education of their students. He got into another brouhaha when he implicitly criticized Pat Robertson for saying Christians are more patriotic than non-Christians, prompting Robertson to ask Bennett for a public apology. (He didn't get it.) Recently Bennett and Surgeon General Koop quarreled over Koop's proposal to teach "safe sex" techniques in junior high schools.

Bennett is one of Ronald Reagan's most talked-about Cabinet officers because he is doing what few other politicians in America dare to do: say what he really thinks about red-hot social issues. For his candor, Bennett has won a great deal of praise and prompted at least one prominent conservative, Senator Gordon Humphrey, publicly to ask him to run for President. He has also taken a lot of heat, and not only from the Left. When Bennett castigated Harvard, for example, some conservatives grumbled that he had no business poking his governmental nose into the affairs of a private institution.

Mr. Wagner was recently appointed a speechwriter for Attorney General Edwin Meese. This article, written and submitted to NR *before his appointment, does not reflect the opinion of any employee of the Department of Justice other than Mr. Wagner.*

The divergent opinions on the Right about Secretary Bennett's high-profile approach to his job largely reflect a fundamental split among conservatives on education reform. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* several years ago, former Department of Education official Lawrence A. Uzzell distinguished between the two conservative factions: the "neocentralists," who favor governmental action to ensure high standards of content and performance, and the "neopluralists" (including himself), who favor private schools, local control of public schools, and parental authority, and whose favorite reforms are education vouchers and tuition tax credits. Neopluralists tend to be religiously motivated, though some on the Religious Right reject neopluralism and dream of re-Christianizing the public schools.

The neocentralists—very roughly speaking, the education arm of neoconservatism—are not opposed in principle to federal power over education, viewing it as a good thing that has been misused. Neocentralists observe that our society has a "common culture," which Secretary Bennett, in a speech to the American Jewish Committee last May 15, summed up as "the democratic ethic, the work ethic, and the Judaeo-Christian ethic." If we fail to inculcate this culture in our children, the neocentralists argue, we will turn into a patchwork of disharmonious, isolated communities, and we will lose the obvious benefits of widespread belief in democracy, work, and basic ethics. It is scarcely totalitarian, they add, to require that a high-school diploma guarantee not only that its holder can read and write (which of course it does not now do), but also that he knows a little about the Constitution, American history, European literature, etc., and also about those "values" on which there is a "consensus."

The neopluralists, in response, point out that the increasing fragmentation of the public-school curriculum, and indeed of American society, has coincided with the expansion of government involvement in education, and that back when local and parental control over public schools was firmer, the "common culture" was inculcated much more successfully. Nevertheless the two camps are not really very far apart on questions of secular culture, and could probably agree on what high-school students should know by the time they graduate. Neither, for example, would charge you with "ethnocentrism" for insisting on Plato and Shakespeare over Kahlil Gibran and Frantz Fanon.

No, the sticking point is religion. One of the prime reasons neopluralists emphasize private schools and tuition tax credits is that, under prevailing Supreme Court decisions,

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private sectarian education is the only way religious parents have of making sure that their children's schools do not undermine their children's faith. Private education provides a way of accommodating fervently religious parents in a pluralist society with a nonsectarian government.

Without denying parents' right to educate their children privately, neocentralists prefer to accommodate religious parents within the public schools. The schools, they argue, should affirm the core moral values of our civilization, and teach, thoroughly and respectfully, the history of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Even such liberal and ecclesiophobic organizations as People for the American Way and Americans United for Separation of Church and State have affirmed as much, by issuing studies corroborating the complaint that religion is under-represented in public-school textbooks. But when one gets down to practicalities, one starts to face questions that do not make for smooth cocktail parties. What aspects of the Judaeo-Christian tradition can or should be taught in public schools? Does neocentralist "moral education" supplement religious instruction in home or church—or compete with it? Can serious faith co-exist at all with nonreligious moral education? And where does William J. Bennett stand on all this?

On most observers' scorecards, Bill Bennett is a neoconservative. While he works well with some New Right leaders, his roots are in the Democratic Party. Like Jeane Kirkpatrick, he did not switch his party registration until after joining the Reagan Cabinet. But his position on important questions such as education reform is subtle and cannot easily be comprehended by blunt dichotomies of neo-con *v.* paleo-con or New Right. He supports the idea that basic morals can and should be taught in the public schools. At the same time, he supports the private-education option, and is himself a product of Gonzaga, the Jesuit high school in Washington, D.C. As regards vouchers, he told me: "There is emerging as a consensus view in American thought the importance of educational choice, which I think procedurally may be the solution to a lot of this."

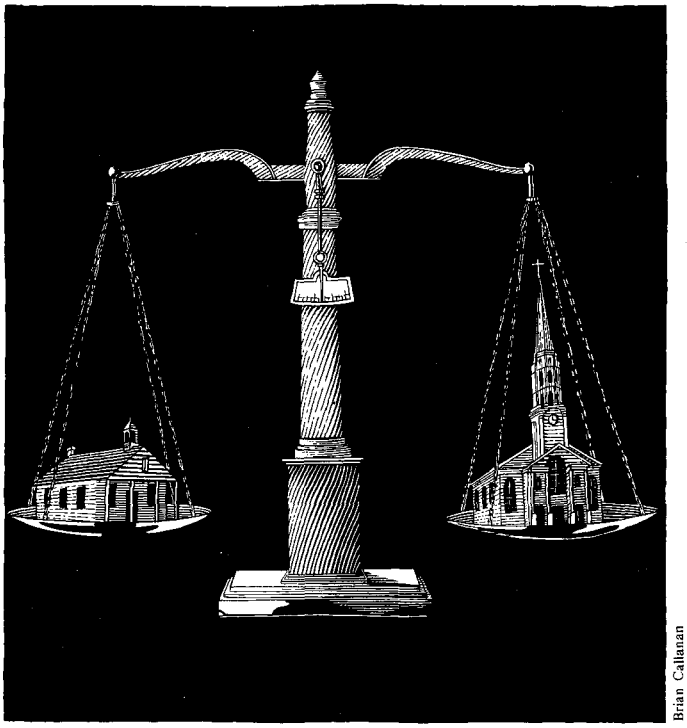
He has repeatedly sent to Congress a bill to turn the funds provided by Chapter I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the main federal program for remedial education, into vouchers. Neopluralist critics such as Sister Renee Oliver, director of Citizens for Educational Freedom, charge him with not pushing the bill hard enough. But one staunchly neopluralist congressional staffer comes to his defense: "How many votes can we get on this bill in the Senate? Ten, maybe? And that's assuming we could get it out of committee. What's Bennett supposed to do? The education establishment is just too strong." And this staffer was speaking of the Republican Senate.

The Burger Court's 1985 *Aguilar* v. *Felton* decision, which ruled it unconstitutional for public-school teachers to give Chapter I instruction in religious schools, was a blow to those schools and to disadvantaged children in them; but it gave new impetus to the voucher drive, as it left the Department of Education with obligations under Chapter I but with no practical way to fulfill them. (Chapter I mandates that remedial instruction be available to all children who need it, whether in public, private, or religious schools.) Bennett, however, argues that until Congress gives him vouchers, he can do nothing for religious-school students eligible for Chapter I funds. Not so, says Sister Renee: She says the law allows him to create "bypass agencies" to receive Chapter I funds, and that parents could qualify as such agencies. The Department of Education has denied that this is an option. Retorts Sister Renee, "Bennett is backing down on vouchers. He gives them rhetoric, but no vehicle."

More alarmingly still, from the standpoint of parents' rights, Secretary Bennett came down in favor of state power in *Mozert* v. *Hawkins County Public Schools*, the federal case in Tennessee in which parents successfully argued that the school district could not force their children to attend classes featuring material that the parents deemed religiously objectionable. Speaking just after the ruling was issued last October, Mr. Bennett declared: "The effort to achieve a consensus in what should be taught, particularly in the area of values, should not be undercut by allowing people to opt out of discussions of these things if they have disagreements with this or that."

This remark was prefaced by a statement of sympathy for the parents, a critique of judicial intervention in education, and an endorsement of local control. Nonetheless, to say that parents who, as a matter of financial necessity, send their children to public schools thereby cede their sovereignty over their children's moral and religious education is to make an enormous grant of power to the government. Considering that exempting a few students from a class need not damage those who remain, it is hardly surprising that Bennett's remarks struck some parents'-rights advocates as typical government arrogance.

Mike Farris, attorney for the Home School Legal Defense Association, who won the Tennessee case, acknowledged that Secretary Bennett's stock has plummeted in the view of the parental-choice movement. He claims Bennett has embarked on a messianic effort to save the country by means of a national consensus on education and morals, and he places this above educational choice.



Brian Callanan

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Thomas R. Ascik, executive director of The Clearinghouse on Educational Choice and a leading theoretician of neopluralism, remarked to me: "Bennett's words on the Tennessee case cannot be squared with the view that private schools have a right to exist." The critique of the right to "opt out" implies that parents are custodians of a mandate from the "community," rather than the other way around, he argued. Such a view makes the right to private education highly contingent, at best.

On the other hand, Phyllis Schlafly, who needs no introduction as a defender of the rights of parents, is inclined to give Bennett the benefit of the doubt. She had not heard of Secretary Bennett's remarks on the Tennessee case when I read them to her (they were reported in *Education Week* but not widely elsewhere), but she pointed out that "Bennett has been extremely supportive of parents." She added, "I would be surprised if he still held that opinion once he was adequately briefed."

BENNETT addressed the subject of religion as part of the "common culture" in a speech to the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus on August 7, 1985. The speech was moderate, thought-provoking, and utterly free of the mindless clichés that in recent years have dominated discussions of the intersection of religion and politics: "The passage of federal aid to education in 1965, with provision for aid to *all* needy students, reflected an acknowledgment of the clear legitimacy of Catholic and other private schools." But "the same Constitution that had protected the rights of religious parents, and under whose aegis a host of religions had found happy accommodation, now became, in the hands of aggressive plaintiffs and beguiled judges, the instrument for nothing less than a kind of ghettoizing of religion." The resulting decisions "have thrust religion, and things touched by religion, out of the public schools; and they have made it far more difficult to give aid to parents of children in private, church-related schools." "I respectfully submit that the Court has failed to reflect sufficiently on the relationship between our faith and our political order." "Our values as a free people and the central values of the Judaeo-Christian tradition are flesh of the flesh, blood of the blood." "The attitude that regards 'entanglement' with religion as something akin to entanglement with an infectious disease must be confronted broadly and directly." Illustrating his belief that religion is an important part of education for citizenship, Secretary Bennett added: "The consequences of this attitude for our public schools have been damaging. And these consequences follow from a failure to appreciate a subtle truth about the relationship between religion, the values and habits that religion supports, and the requirements of education among a people charged with self-government."

The editorialists immediately swung into action, declaring him "Secretary of Evangelization" and the "Ayatollah" of education. Had he proposed a school-based Spanish Inquisition he could hardly have been bashed harder. Yet the speech also got some criticism from conservatives for whom the concept of education for citizenship smacked of John Dewey's concept of education as socialization.

Dewey maintained that the school "must help banish the conception that human destiny here and now is of slight importance in comparison to some supernatural destiny," and he saw religion as "producing habits of mind at odds with the attitudes required for the maintenance of democracy." I quoted these lines to Mr. Bennett as indicating a danger lurking in the idea of education for citizenship. After all, who can guarantee that Deweyites will never again replace Bennettites as arbiters of good citizenship?

In reply, Mr. Bennett appealed to empirical proof of the inadequacy of Dewey's concept of the citizen. There are, he said, "very interesting correlations between whether children go to church, have religious teaching, and how well they do in school, and how likely it is they'll end up on welfare. If you want to get to the desirable part of Dewey's world, which is people actively engaged in the business affairs of their day and who are good workers and interested citizens, our experience suggests that religious instruction is not the least significant way to go. . . . Drug use: Kids who go to church a lot tend not to take drugs. It's just a fact."

But, granting that religious instruction of children has social utility, what can we do in the public schools, given that the Supreme Court decisions on this issue are "in a state of utter chaos and unpredictable change," in the words of now-Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, quoted by Secretary Bennett in his Knights of Columbus speech? How does Bennett answer the charge that the attempt to squeeze religion into the Court's requirements can only result in a semi-pagan "civil religion"?

"There is no Court decision," Mr. Bennett replied, "that precludes the following things: a) saying that these are values that most of us share; b) these are values that we have inherited, or that have endured for us, by virtue of the Judaeo-Christian tradition; c) these are values that Jews and Christians hold very important to them; d) the experience of mankind is such that these values can be attested to and vouched for. That seems to me both non-indoctrinative . . . and more than pagan."

So Judaism and Christianity can be referred to as the historical sources of our values. We must stop only at the point of affirming them or any religion as true and authoritative per se. Mr. Bennett separates the question of whether morality can stand without faith from the question of whether it does, historically, originate in faith. The latter question, he says, is settled in the affirmative.

But the former question still remains. I asked Mr. Bennett what he would say to religious parents who see moral instruction divorced from God as impious.

"I think," he replied, "even the most religious people would not insist that God be brought into the act all the time. It's not as if religious sanctions and religious beliefs have to be part of every decision, every problem, every issue."

It is just this attitude that so agitates Bennett's religious conservative critics. Thomas Ascik could have been speaking of Bennett (he wasn't) in a speech at the Heritage Foundation last July 16: "Some of the writings on character education from these people are simply astonishing. They betray not even the slightest understanding of or sympathy with the goals of religiously motivated people. One is tempted to ask these writers whether they are acquainted with *anyone* who goes to church." Secretary Bennett lambastes what he calls the "*reductio ad Khomeini*," to which, apparently, any politician who speaks well of religion is subjected. Yet it is always in connection with

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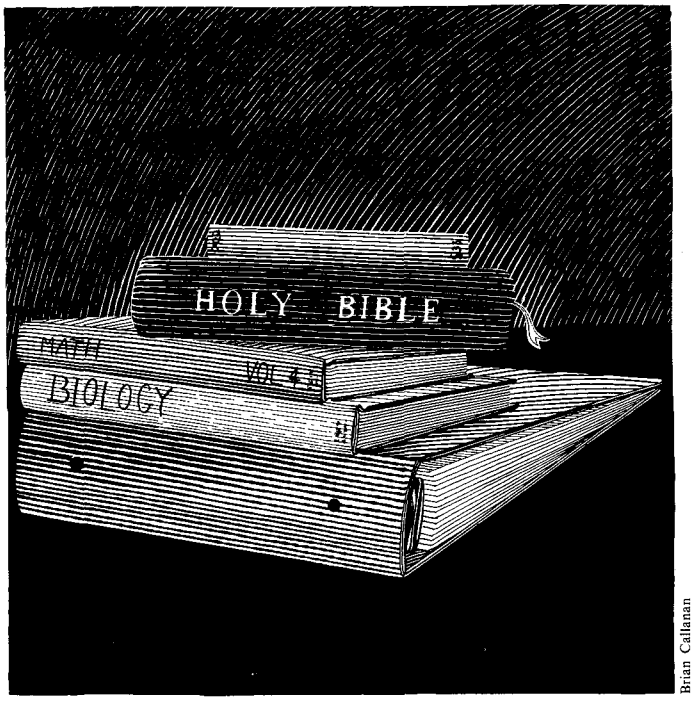

Brian Callanan

fostering civic harmony and socially constructive habits that Bennett himself praises religion. Furthermore—is this an excessively close reading?—the object of his praise is always "religion," never God.

Perhaps he is giving evidence here of a deep personal ambivalence. I had not planned to raise the subject of his personal faith, but since he did just that in his University of Missouri speech last year I will quote the passage:

"I speak as someone in sympathy with the religious beliefs of the overwhelming majority of the American people —although I am personally, I would guess, rather average in the degree of my religious observance. I go to church some, but not as much as I probably should, and not as much as the head of my church believes I should. But my upbringing, my experience, and my study have made me sympathetic to religious beliefs."

In the University of Missouri speech, Bennett welcomed the term "civil religion" as a description of the religious aspect of the common culture. He also criticized elements of the Religious Right: "Religion should never be used as a kind of trump card to foreclose further debate. Those who claim that their religious faith gives them a monopoly on political truth make democratic discourse difficult. Disagree with me and you're damned, they seem to suggest. In doing so they insult the common sense and the tolerant spirit of the American people."

All right, but how about: "Disagree with me and you're wrong"? Does that insult the spirit of the American people? Mr. Bennett would almost certainly say no. Yet people who would make even this affirmation in the religious sphere seem to make him uneasy. The unease is mutual. "Civil religion" is not a reassuring concept for many of these people, whether they be fundamentalists who lack the institutional clout of mainstream Protestantism and who are daily ridiculed in the mainstream media, or Catholics who may remember that their vast parochial-school system was erected precisely because the public schools insisted on propagating a homogenized Protestantism as a way of Americanizing their charges.

"What one argues for," Bennett told me in defense of civil religion, "is nothing but telling the truth: in the course of history classes and literature classes, in overcoming the notion that is in fact prevalent in some schools, that one should not mention religion at all. At the same time, we recognize that schools should not be proselytizing, except by one's own quiet witness, the witness of one's life." But what about the problem that kids ask specific questions about morality that may have to be answered with reference to Divine authority? As Mr. Ascik argued to me, given the inquisitiveness of children, teachers attempting moral instruction will constantly be confronted with the ultimate "Why?" and will be forced to choose either sectarian answers (whether theistic or secularist), which would not pass ACLU muster, or simple deference to parents and other legitimate authorities. The latter is proper as far as it goes, but if "because I say so" is the answer to the most urgent moral questions that students have, why embark on moral education in the schools in the first place? "Ultimately," Mr. Ascik says, "Mr. Bennett's system of moral education would revert to values clarification"—the manipulative method, criticized by Bennett, of making children "question their values."

Mr. Bennett is clearly trying to build a broad Center-Right coalition on education reform. He has, despite the criticisms of Mr. Ascik and others, shown not only a politician's understanding but a leader's real sympathy for the concerns of religious parents. By using his office more as a bully pulpit than as a generator of programs and experiments, he has shown respect for the conservative presumption against centralization.

In another sense, of course, he has greatly centralized education reform. Previously, conservative education reformers concentrated primarily on the question, "Who decides?" They were concerned with returning educational power to parents and communities, and reversing the flow of such power toward higher levels of government and professional educators. But now, for the time being at least, vouchers have taken second place behind values.

The values Mr. Bennett has in mind come from the traditional religions of the West. But those religions all make assertions that are viewed by those who make them as facts, not values. "The Lord your God is One." "God sent His only-begotten Son." "Mohammed is his prophet." Adherents of these faiths respond to conflicting assertions by reasserting the ones they believe. They can do no less. On the other hand, a statesman who admires all of these assertions to some extent, while giving wholehearted assent to none, is free to throw them all into the pot marked "values," distill from them their fundamental ethical propositions, and order those propositions taught in the public schools. The statesman might thereby improve the moral climate of the public schools. But he must not be surprised if he fails to satisfy many of those who do give their wholehearted assent to one of the traditional creeds.

This is the problem Bill Bennett faces. He wants values derived from religion, and he wants recognition of the positive role of religion in American history. He means these as civil goals; indeed, he understands them as civic needs. To take religion in public education this far and no fur-

(Continues on page 60)

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MAGGIE'S REVOLUTION ON THE LINE

ON THE VERY first day of the British election campaign, Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader, promised to rescind the general tax cut that the Conservative government had just made, and Denis Healey, the Labour Party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, observed, "The Soviets are praying for a Labour victory" [see also Brian Crozier, p. 26]; which seemed, in both cases, an odd way to go about winning friends and influencing people—except people who would be voting Labour anyway. The chief danger to the Conservative Party at that stage looked like being complacency.

Every election is presented by those involved as a historic turning point: but there really have been two such watersheds in Britain since the Second World War. The first was in 1945, when the electors opted for a Labour government and a welfare state; an option that was hardly challenged by subsequent, ostensibly Conservative governments. The concomitant policies of high public spending and high taxation, appeasement of the trade unions, and a ratchet whereby leftward change was deemed irreversible were continued through a quarter-century of national decline. The second watershed came in 1979, when, recoiling from the brink of hyperinflation and appalled by the "winter of discontent," in which trade-union militancy had left the dead unburied and piles of trash uncollected in the streets, the voters turned to a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher, who broke the postwar mold.

The June 11 election will either consolidate the Thatcherite revolution or show it to have been a mere interval in the long drift leftward. The Conservatives are still offering a radical program: the Labour Party and the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance, differing only in degree, want a return to welfarism and assumed consensus.

People do look at things in a different way now, and the world looks at Britain in a different way. Mrs. Thatcher's victory over the politically motivated violence of the coal miners' strike was the domestic equivalent of her triumph in the Falklands War. The unions' blackmailing power has been, to the sullen fury of their leaders, dramatically curbed. Meanwhile, the right of purchase given to municipal tenants, which has helped to create for the first time a substantial majority of owner-occupiers, and the hugely successful selling off of nationalized industries, which has more than trebled the number of individual shareholders, have eroded the Labour Party's traditional base. The confiscatory top rate of income tax has been reduced from 98 per cent to 60 per cent. Exchange controls have been abolished. Productivity has increased. The economic indicators at the moment seem set remarkably fair.

Even the unemployment figures have finally started to edge down: but they are still high, especially in the north, the Labour Party's heartland, where the old heavy industries are suffering inevitable decline. In the prosperous south, vacancies remain unfilled, because a deadly combination of low wages, steep taxation, and easily obtained welfare benefits makes many jobs seem not worth taking.

The revolution is incomplete. Mrs. Thatcher's government has not yet screwed up its courage to tackle the basic problem of the welfare state. Public spending has actually increased, and so has the total burden of taxation. Contrary to the myth promulgated by Mrs. Thatcher's opponents, there have been no cuts in the funds provided for social services. The ramshackle National Health Service in particular has been treated as sacrosanct.

Until recently the degenerating state school system, where standards have been deliberately lowered in the name of "anti-elitism," was also untouched: but a series of grossly irresponsible teachers' strikes, the lamentation of employers about the illiteracy and innumeracy of school-leavers, and the revelations about the fanatical "anti-racist," "anti-sexist," and anti-police propaganda forced upon schools by left-wing education authorities have made it a lively political issue. A Conservative election poster simply shows the covers of three books that have been recommended for 13-year-old schoolchildren by Labour-controlled authorities —*The Playbook for Kids about Sex*, *Police: Out of School!*, and *Young, Gay, and Proud* ("There are lots of different ways for Gay men to have sex and really enjoy it. You will soon find out what you like").

Conservatives' ambitions have grown. They have pledged themselves to curb the spendthrift borough councils that, in some districts, run miniature Marxist dictatorships; to privatize more nationalized industries; to continue the fight against inflation; to reduce the standard rate of income tax to 25 per cent.

THE LABOUR PARTY, on the other hand, tries to mask and mute its policies, to distance itself from the Marxists and the hard left-wingers. Stress is laid, instead, on the jobs that would be created and the welfare services improved by more public spending. Another unavoidable pledge remains: to abandon Britain's nuclear deterrent and require the closing of American nuclear bases in the United Kingdom.

The Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance claims to occupy a somewhat hazy middle ground on all these issues. The Social Democrats want to keep

(Continues on page 60)

Mr. Lejeune is NR*'s longtime London correspondent.*

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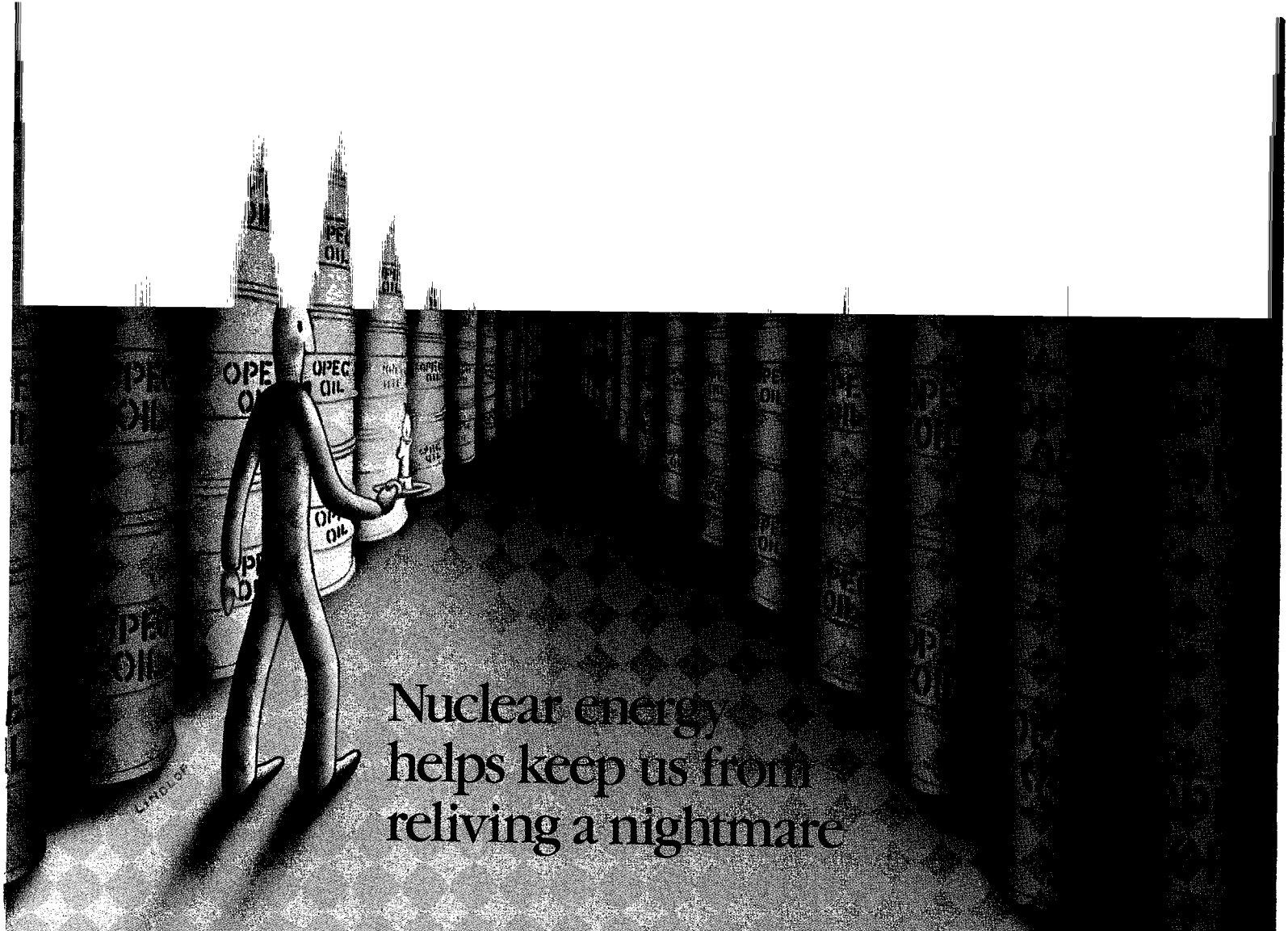

Nuclear energy helps keep us from reliving a nightmare

The 1973 Arab oil crisis is a haunting reminder of the darker side of foreign oil dependence. Since then, America has turned more to electricity from nuclear energy and coal to help restore our energy security. As a result, these are now our leading sources of electricity and a strong defense against an increasing oil dependence that again threatens America's national energy security.

A dangerous foreign oil dependence

America imported four million barrels of oil a day in 1985. Last year that increased by another 800,000 barrels a day. The danger? Most of these new barrels come directly from OPEC. And the U.S. Department of Energy estimates that by year-end 1987, oil imports will be 30% higher than the 1985 level—an ominous trend.

U.S. Interior Secretary Donald Hodel recently warned that "OPEC is most assuredly getting back into the driver's seat" and our increasing dependence will be "detrimental to the country's economic and national security and its financial well-being."

Nuclear electricity's contribution

America's electric utilities have helped diminish OPEC's impact. Today, over 100 nuclear plants make nuclear energy our second largest electricity source, behind coal.

And nuclear energy has helped cut foreign oil demand. It's saved America over two billion barrels of oil since 1973, and our nuclear plants continue to cut oil use. The energy analysts at Science Concepts, Inc. estimate that by the year 2000, nuclear energy will have saved us between seven and twelve billion barrels of oil.

Nuclear energy for a secure future

Nuclear energy is not just helping here in America. According to OPEC, nuclear energy has permanently displaced about six million barrels of oil a day in world markets.

The lessons we learned in 1973 are lessons we can't afford to forget. Nuclear energy and coal can't offer us guarantees against another oil crisis. But the more we hear about the return of OPEC dominance, the more we need to remember the critical role played by electricity from coal and nuclear energy in fueling America's economy and protecting our future.

For a free booklet on energy independence, write to the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 1537 (OP30), Ridgely, MD 21681. Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

Information about energy America can count on

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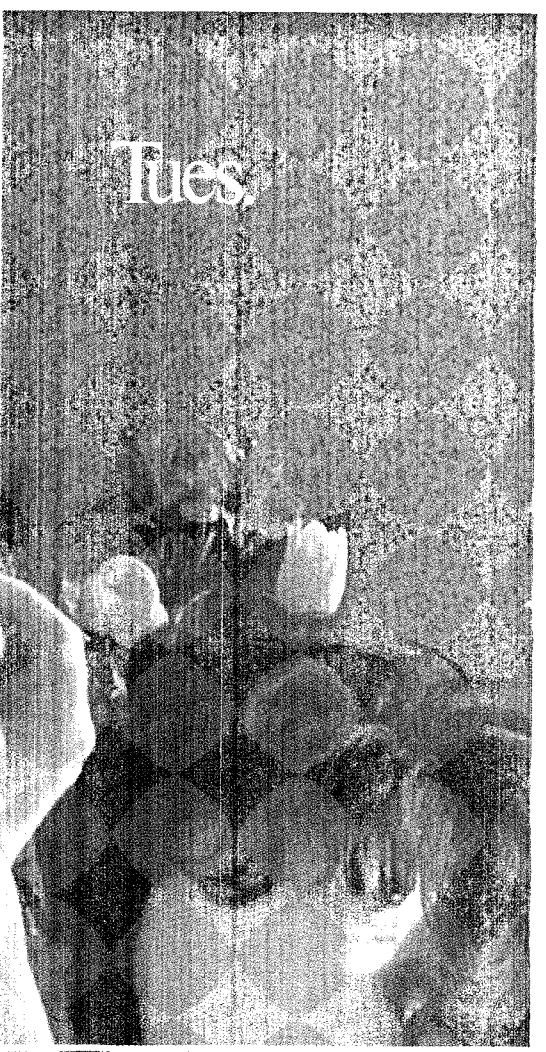

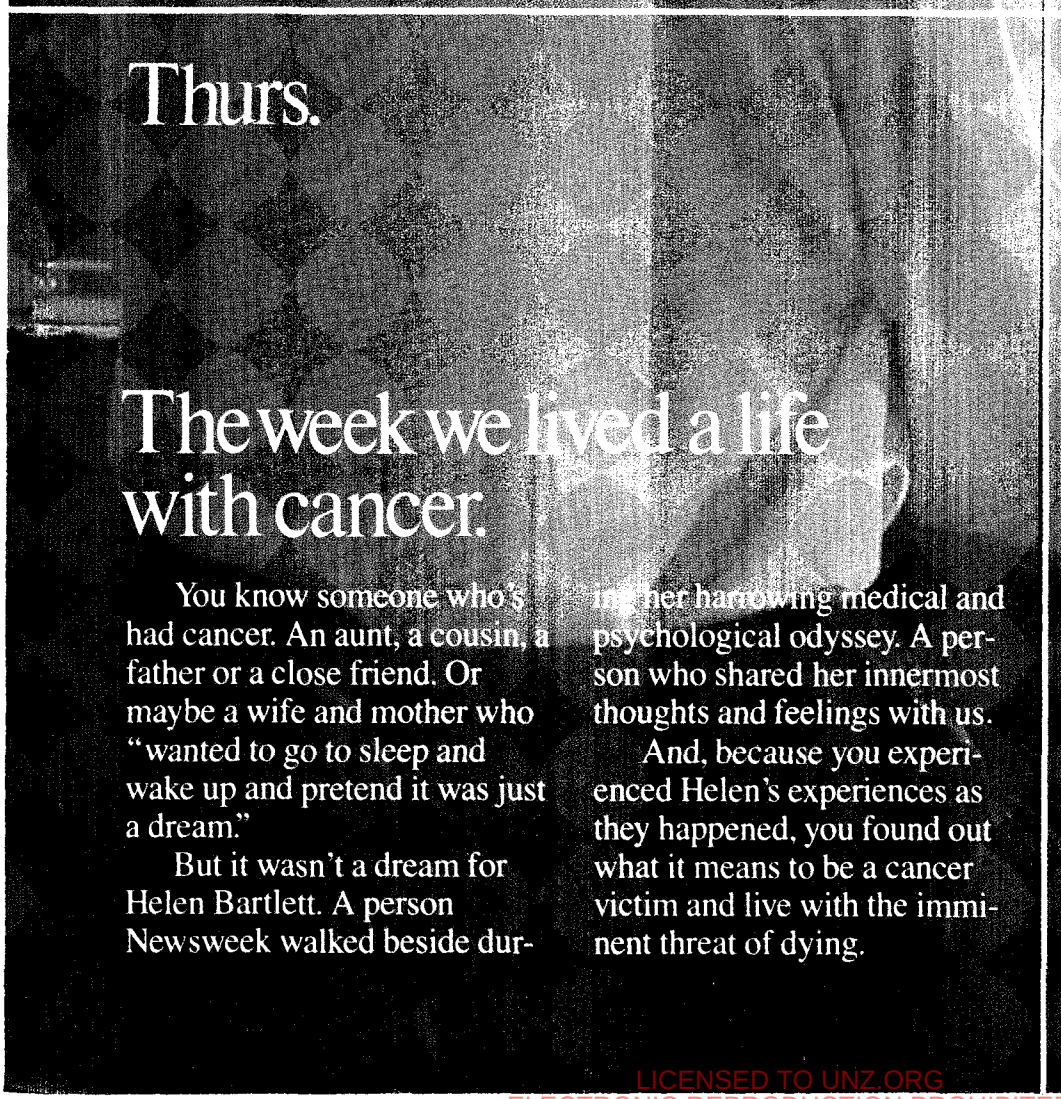

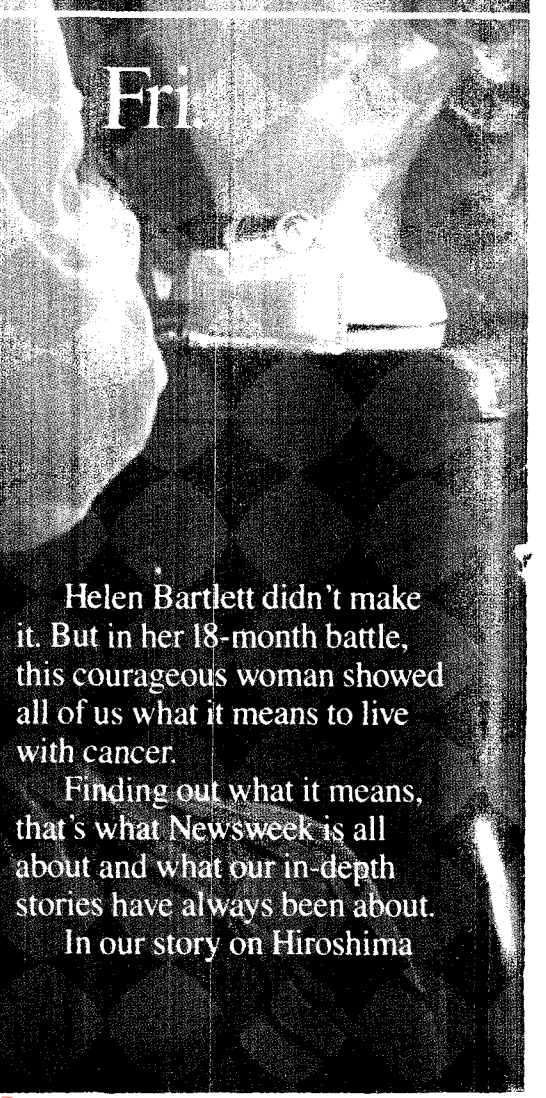

The week we lived a life with cancer.

You know someone who's had cancer. An aunt, a cousin, a father or a close friend. Or maybe a wife and mother who "wanted to go to sleep and wake up and pretend it was just a dream."

But it wasn't a dream for Helen Bartlett. A person Newsweek walked beside during her harrowing medical and psychological odyssey. A person who shared her innermost thoughts and feelings with us.

And, because you experienced Helen's experiences as they happened, you found out what it means to be a cancer victim and live with the imminent threat of dying.

Helen Bartlett didn't make it. But in her 18-month battle, this courageous woman showed all of us what it means to live with cancer.

Finding out what it means, that's what Newsweek is all about and what our in-depth stories have always been about.

In our story on Hiroshima

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we told you what it means, after forty years, to live with the bomb still echoing in your mind.

In our special story on homosexuality, we showed you what a desperately lonely and tortured experience it still is to grow up gay in America.

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Why it happened. What it means.

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THE DEMOCRATS' ZERO OPTIONS

SAY YOU'RE A Democrat, a member of the 100th Congress, and you've been pummeling the Reagan Administration for the past six years for failing to come up with an arms-control agreement with the Soviets. Then, suddenly, George Shultz comes back from Moscow with an agreement-in-principle to eliminate superpower intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe; maybe short-range weapons will be thrown in as well. Could be a good idea—after all, you and your colleagues were linking limbs in spirit with arms-control activists from Berkeley to Bonn a few years ago. On the other hand, let's be serious. Simple removal of the weapons might leave Europe vulnerable to the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Warsaw Pact's conventional forces, undermine European confidence in American resolve, and help the Soviets toward their ultimate goal of driving a wedge between Europe and the United States.

Geopolitics can be so tricky. Of course, what really gets your goat is that *the Reagan Administration has stolen your issue!* With the White House ready to embrace the most sweeping nuclear-disarmament proposal in history, what's a Democrat to do? Embrace it too, make the White House look good, and, just possibly, sign off on the biggest strategic blunder since Yalta? Or come out against the plan and sound like a hypocrite? And how to preserve party unity, especially as the "defense intellectuals," such as Senator Sam Nunn and Representative Les Aspin, have already denounced the plan?

Such thoughts have crowded the minds of more than a few congressional Democrats over the past few weeks. The current chain of events in Geneva illuminates all too clearly the Democratic Party's continuing identity crisis. In control of both Houses of Congress after six years of suffering a Republican majority in the Senate, the White House-hungry Democrats have been straining to show the country that they are capable of providing realistic leadership. Party generals from Paul Kirk to Chuck Robb want to convey a new Democratic realism by means of policies that will cut a centrist swath through the landscape of American politics and win them support in the South and West.

Attempts to conjure up images of a new centrism are particularly evident on foreign-policy questions. Shortly before last fall's elections, the Democratic Policy Commission managed to produce a foreign-policy tract that earned the *New York Times* headline, "Democrats Fashion Centrist Image in New Statement of Party Policy." Twice, the report labeled the Soviet Union as "the greatest threat to world peace and freedom," and—nearly unprecedented for an official Democratic Party document—it actually came out in favor of a few nuclear-weapons systems. The document took no position on a few hot items like the Contras, but did include a vague formulation observing that "when the opponents of liberty are backed by foreign and military aid and driven by radical ideology, negotiations and economic assistance alone are insufficient."

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But finding the center is a complicated business: Voters must be assured that the Democrats can be trusted to deal with the Soviets, but Democratic leaders must phrase the new message in a way that will keep the party's McGovernites quiet—if only to avoid reminding the voters that the McGovernites are still around.

WILL THEY find this ideological El Dorado? A look at what's going on in the 100th Congress suggests not. Party generals may talk grandly about the new centrism, but a few years from now, when party strategists try to explain how the Democrats blew their chance to grab the White House, they may look to the party's center of gravity *c.* 1987: a congressional majority that sounded an awful lot like the one that hollered for an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam in 1972, demanded the cancellation of the MX missile in 1980, and has cried for a nuclear-weapons freeze ever since.

The problem is largely one of leadership. The congressional Democrats have no foreign-policy spokesman, and they need one. Consider Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a cerebral man and aging preppie whose family money is so old that no one can quite remember where it came from. His absent-mindedness is legendary, and his personal beliefs are the source of continuous wonder and amazement among his colleagues. Pell is fascinated by Eastern mysticism, and believes in reincarnation. One colleague in the Senate, who asked not to be named, speculates that Pell is reincarnated from an eighth-century Sanskrit scholar killed by a stampede of camels he didn't see coming.

While visiting Geneva recently as a member of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, Pell invited psychic

Mr. Osterlund is a Washington-based political reporter.

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THE ART OF EASY CARE PERFORMANCE

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New VISA Ambiance tablelinen fabrics from Milliken.
Unique patternization with an
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spoon-bender Uri Geller to provide parlor entertainment at a dinner for Soviet officials and visiting U.S. senators hosted by U.S. arms negotiator Max Kampelman. Geller was apparently a hit: He says he beamed thoughts of peace at dinner guest Yuli Vorontsov, the Soviets' chief arms negotiator. The next day, Mikhail Gorbachev offered to eliminate medium-range missiles from Europe. Geller says that was no coincidence: He noticed a transfer of psychic power between himself and Vorontsov. "I have a very strong feeling that Vorontsov called Gorbachev," he reportedly told *Newsweek*.

Pell found himself "stimulated" by Geller's ideas. "I just wanted to expose him to some people here," he said. So Pell invited him to the super-secure room in the Capitol—known as the "vault"—where lawmakers go to discuss sensitive national-security issues among themselves or with Administration officials. There, a group of Pentagon and Hill staffers, along with House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante Fascell, recently whiled away a Friday afternoon listening to Geller talk about parapsychology and Soviet psychic research. Geller even tried to read minds—attempting twice to visualize what had been scribbled on pieces of paper—but failed. Even so, Fascell was sufficiently impressed to rush out to a bookstore and buy a copy of Geller's newest book.

Pell's stewardship of the Foreign Relations Committee has surpassed expectations—the Democrats managed to pass a foreign-aid bill out of the committee on a party-line vote—but that's only because the expectations were so low. "He's no lion of the Senate," says one colleague.

Democratic staffers panicked a few months ago when Senators Cranston and Dodd told Pell they planned to introduce an amendment to the foreign-aid bill that would prohibit the distribution of U.S. aid to the Contras in fiscal 1988, which begins October 1. The Democratic leaders in the Senate had just lost a bruising fight over a side issue in the Contra-aid debate and were not anxious to revisit the issue so soon. The committee staff director, Geryld Christianson, put in an urgent call to Richard D'Amato, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd's foreign-policy advisor, asking for help in pulling Dodd and Cranston off the scent. In a memo, D'Amato warned Byrd that Pell was "not strong enough" to resist Dodd's and Cranston's entreaties. Byrd stepped in. Dodd and Cranston backed down.

"It's not that you dropped in without an appointment—he just spilled some mineral oil."

THERE ARE OTHER logical candidates to take on the mantle of chief Democratic foreign-policy spokesman. Sam Nunn has been mentioned in that regard. The owlish senator from Georgia exudes just the sort of image Democrats would like to project on foreign-policy matters: thoughtful, measured, erudite. Nunn recently spent three days on the Senate floor painstakingly dissecting the Administration's arguments in favor of a broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty. He found those arguments wanting and, in rebutting them, established the intellectual underpinnings of pending Democratic legislation that would mandate a narrow interpretation of the treaty.

But, for his politically hyperkinetic colleagues, Nunn's style can be infuriating. While Nunn was crafting his hundred-page indictment of the Administration's ABM stance, fellow Democrats were itching to have him jump aboard their arms-control bandwagon. Some sought his endorsement of a nuclear-test moratorium (which he has opposed), others asked for his support of legislation mandating U.S. observance of SALT II (which he is more inclined to accept), still others came at him with bits of arms-control esoterica—halting funds for the deployment of the space-based kinetic kill vehicle [see "SDI Watch," *NR*, Feb. 27]; banning the production of chemical weapons—that collectively determine the caucus's center of gravity. Nunn remained magnificently above it all, refusing to show his hand. "Waiting for Nunn to announce his position on these things is a little like waiting for Moses to descend from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments," complains one Senate staffer. That is not necessarily the way to exert leadership over a 54-person rabble.

How about Les Aspin, the iconoclastic, outspoken chairman of the House Armed Services Committee? Forget it. Last year, most House Democrats had some reason to be mad at Aspin [see "The Real Les Aspin Story," *NR*, Dec. 19]. Either they were mad at him for crossing party lines and voting to aid the Contras, or they were

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mad at him for (supposedly) breaking a promise and voting in favor of funding the MX missile. Old-timers were furious with him for beating the once-hallowed seniority system, deposing the aging chairman, Mel Price, and getting himself elected in Price's place though he was but sixth in line on the committee. Younger, liberal members of the House, who thought they were supporting a lefty's bid to head the decidedly conservative committee, were dismayed to find Aspin adopting conservative positions on key issues.

Aspin's brusque manner has been offputting as well. One of the things that angered many of Aspin's colleagues so much about his Contra vote was that he insisted on standing up before the assembled House and making the final pitch for Contra aid. "If he had just voted quietly that would have been one thing," says a colleague. "But to get up there and rub our noses in it—that was too much."

AT THE START of this year, House Democrats unseated Aspin, but two weeks later, they voted to reinstate their clearly penitent colleague as chairman. On Geneva he has seemed his old self, becoming one of the most outspoken critics of the rumored deal: "Something really stupid" is what Aspin labeled it. But on other issues, Aspin has turned to mush. In March, for example, when the House voted on aid to the Contras, Aspin dutifully joined his peers in voting no. He certainly owed something to the Democratic leaders who had recently reinstated him, and who were pumping for votes against Contra aid. But, given what a point of principle he made of voting for Contra aid last year, he has no answer to the charge of having sold his principles for a committee chairmanship. Not the profile of a leader.

What about Jim Wright, the new Speaker? Unquestionably he has his finger on the pulse of his charges: What he says, most House Democrats are thinking. But, institutionally and personally, Wright is more mouthpiece than leader. In contrast to Aspin, Wright saw in the INF deal the "best chance for the last 15 years to reach a constructive agreement on the problem of arms reduction." Bull's-eye. Some Democrats scuffed their feet uncomfortably when confronted with the arguments for an INF agreement, pointing out that the zero option was the Administration's idea, not theirs. But few have complained very loudly.

Robert Byrd, the restored Majority Leader, is another story, not afraid to get out in front without looking over his shoulder to see if anyone is following. Take his reaction to the INF proposal. In his first floor speech on the subject he claimed to share Wright's "cautious optimism on the prospects for a European missile pact." The rest of the speech, however, suggested none of Wright's enthusiasm: "We should not push ourselves into a mad rush for an agreement which discards central tenets of Alliance security which have worked for four decades," Byrd proclaimed.

Byrd's floor speech was written by Dick D'Amato—as noted, his chief foreign-policy advisor. D'Amato once taught political science at Annapolis, is the resident hawk, and thought the speech brought Byrd in line with such respected strategic thinkers as Woolsey and Scowcroft. Staff liberals were more concerned that it brought Byrd in line with thinkers like Nixon and Kissinger and took him out of step with the rest of the Democrats in Congress. D'Amato prevailed, but only because his views reflected Byrd's.

The next day's press reaction was predictable. The *New York Times* proclaimed a split among the Democratic leadership over the arms deal. The *Christian Science Monitor* was more circumspect, but said the statements showed that "lawmakers are more ambivalent than ever" about the course of arms-control negotiations. Linda Peek, Byrd's press secretary, swung into high gear, telephoning reporters and insisting that Byrd and Wright really did agree on Geneva. There were no takers.

Central America will provide a good test of Democratic leadership. Politically the situation is the reverse of Geneva: The White House has largely been reduced to reacting to events, while the scandal has given congressional Democrats more leverage than they could otherwise have hoped. But so far Democrats have mostly relied on the same tried and failed recipe: No aid to the Contras; negotiate with the Sandinistas. Some moderates are advocating flexibility, attempting to craft approaches that combine Contra aid and negotiations, to please both hawks and doves. But the White House itself is toying with a similar modification of its Contras-or-bust strategy, which might reduce the Dems to barely audible me-tooers. On the other hand, if distance from the White House is made the crucial element in Democratic foreign policy, are the Democrats stuck opposing anything the White House offers as long as it includes Contra aid? Would such opposition constitute leadership—or centrism, for that matter?

The Contra question is critical for 1988 and beyond. For all of the party's official efforts to craft a centrist position on foreign policy, presidential hopefuls know that the party Left still dominates the nominating process. Thus, the few Democrats of presidential timber who have supported the Contras—Bill Bradley, Chuck Robb, Sam Nunn—have refrained from entering the race.

So it will be the task of Democrats in Congress to prove that centrism is more than just an advertising label. If they do not, then the field will be ceded to the Left, and the Democratic Party will continue down its well-worn isolationist path. □

Beverly Hills Bride

She's the new president
of the well-known conglomerate
that makes those tiny things
you know and all her lovely rings:
diamonds
emeralds sapphires rubies
gold bands on pretty fingers
all fake but they look so real
smile and sing oh what a deal!

She's got such a beautiful face
the five-thousand-dollar dress
raceygrace
ten thousand pairs of shoes
one of her companies that amuse:
red wine
real estate dog food china plates
her husband the unemployed poet
who paints
you can hear her sing a little song
the bride of Beverly Hills
sing-along.

JON STEFAN

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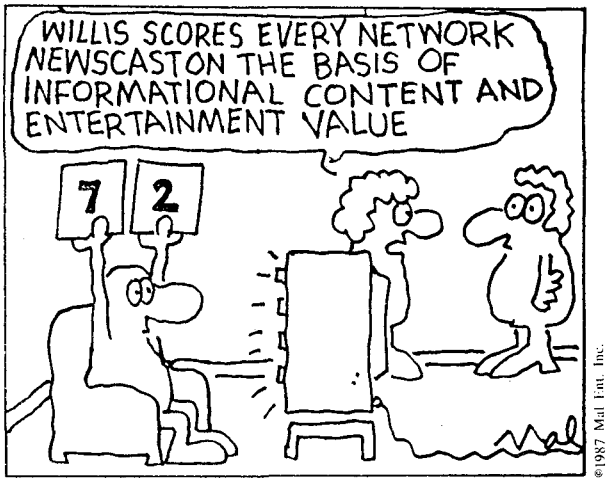
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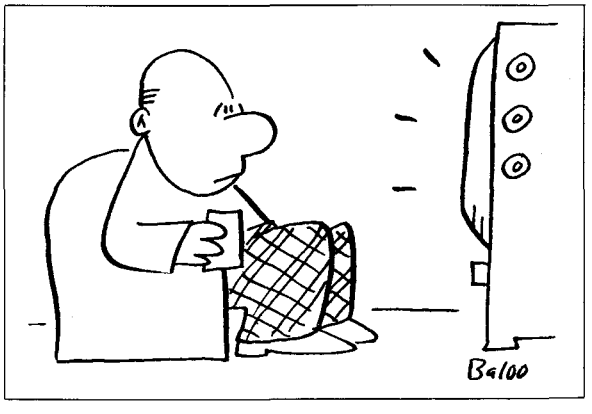


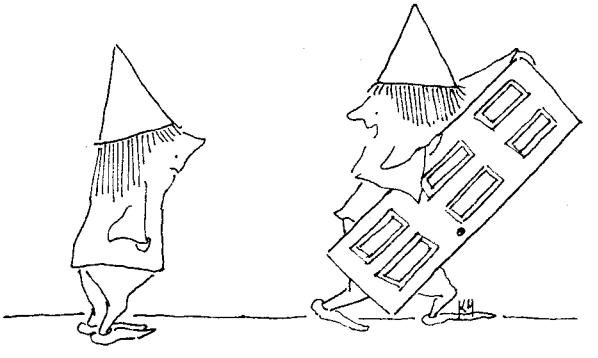
"This has been a test of our Emergency Broadcast Warning System, deemed necessary because of the belligerent nuclear policy of the Reagan Administration."

Food Brood

The world's gone organic!
I try not to panic
Confronted with comments about
My heretofore faulty
Nutrition ("Too salty!
Too chemically treated!" they shout).

I hark to their needling
As germ, grain, and seedling
Au naturel clutter my shelves.
But listen, young legions,
Won't my inner regions
Quite soon begin sprouting themselves?

MAUREEN CANNON



I WON THE OFFICE-PARTY DOORPRIZE

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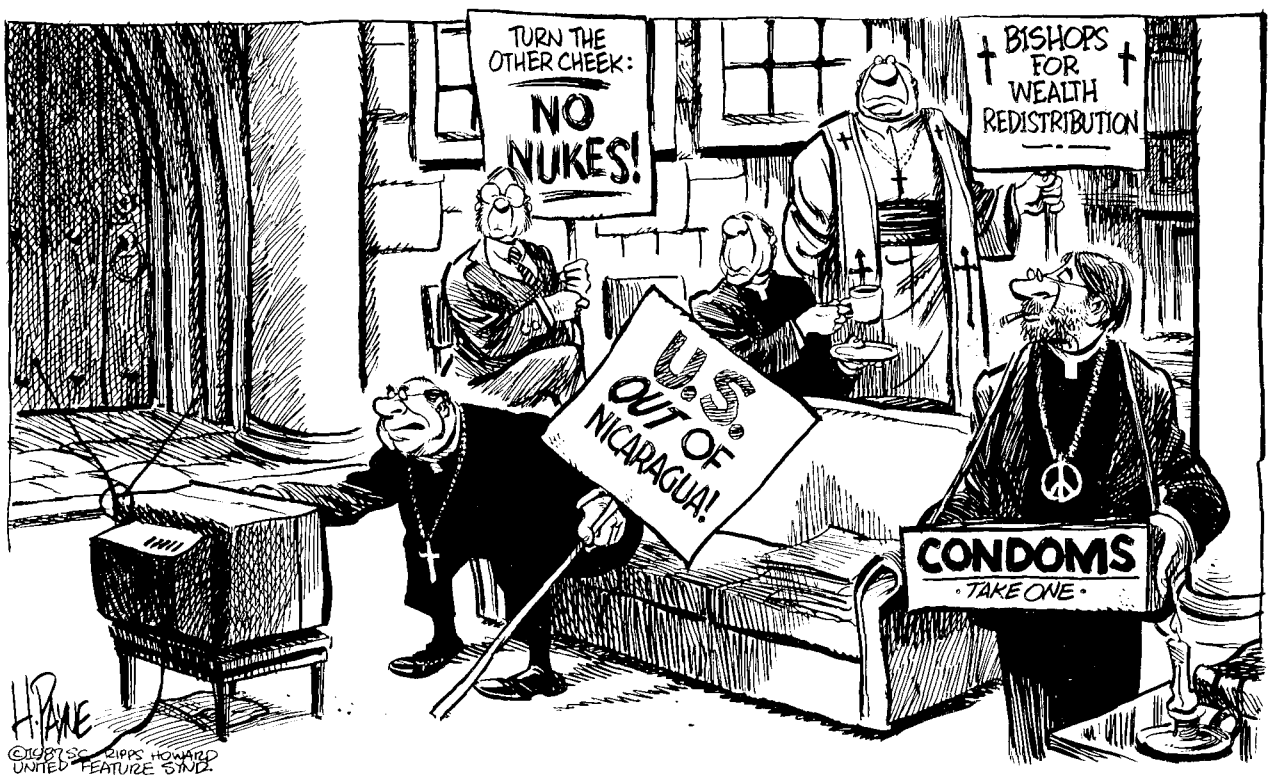
THE NEW, IMPROVED FREE TRADE Turbo


TURN THE OTHER CHEEK: NO NUKES!
BISHOPS FOR WEALTH REDISTRIBUTION
U.S. OUT OF NICARAGUA!
CONDOMS
• TAKE ONE •
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"LET'S SEE WHAT THOSE WEIRDO TV EVANGELISTS ARE UP TO TODAY."

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ANONYMOUS SEX

When the American Psychiatric Association's board of trustees met in mid 1986, they voted to remove from the profession's diagnostic manual the one remaining psychiatric disorder related to homosexuality: "egodystonic homosexuality," or psychiatric problems experienced by a person who does not accept his homosexual orientation. The *Washington* (D.C.) *Blade*, a gay-activist paper, claimed the move was a victory for homosexual activists within the APA.

The *Blade* had it right: There had been no important new medical evidence introduced; the only moving parts in these machinations were political. So it was also in 1973, when the board of trustees first proclaimed that homosexuality as such was not to be considered a psychiatric disorder. At that time a group of psychiatrists professionally devoted to the study of homosexuality protested. A referendum was held. Over nine thousand psychiatrists, or 58 per cent of the membership, voted. The pro-gay position prevailed by two thousand votes. Shortly before the balloting, the APA's officers sent a letter to the voting members urging them to support the trustees. The letter was written and financed by the National Gay Task Force, though the APA neglected to mention that.

Some APA members justified their votes by saying that removing homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses would temper public disdain of homosexuality and ease homosexual guilt. The implicit, and sometimes explicit, assumption is that the emotional trials and disturbances associated with homosexuality are merely the result of social disapproval and externally imposed guilt.

The political importance of this and similar assertions is obvious—homosexual political power is based on the well-proven technique of claiming compensation for assertedly harmful discrimination. Such claims customarily have two prerequisites: The discrimination must be motivated by an unchosen characteristic—blackness, or femaleness. Those who fight discrimination against Jews carefully combat anti-Semitism, not anti-Judaicism. Moreover, the discrimination must cause harm. Homosexual political power thus absolutely requires both the assertion that except for social pressure gays would be happy and psychologically healthy and the assertion that their sexuality is neither chosen nor changeable. Thus social acceptance is both proper and beneficial—the sooner social acceptance is in place, the better off homosexuals will be.

But—and here is why the victory within the APA was so crucial—in actual experience, not all unchosen behavior is inevitable. Profound psychological disorders may virtually compel behavior, and yet such disorders are treatable, though only with the cooperation of the patient. Explaining homosexuality as a psychological disorder thus leaves the homosexual too much freedom of choice for him to rate as a politically acceptable victim, which is why gay advocates always speak as if homosexuality had a—never satisfactorily identified—unavoidable physiological basis.

Conservatives, for their part, have been slow to admit that a psychological compulsion may be so powerful as to make the idea of choice irrelevant in any given instance. The conservative political position on homosexuality is dependent on the claim that homosexuality is an activity, not a condition. Only thus can conservatives justify legal or even social sanctions against homosexuality. Yet this position is in constant hazard from the facts, some of which have struck close to home. Why would Robert Bauman, a conservative leader with a brilliant future and an attractive wife and children, *choose* to sacrifice his career and family for the pleasures offered by homosexual prostitutes? For Bauman, and thousands of homosexuals who might want to change their habits, the idea of waking up one day and just saying no is inadequate, if not meaningless.

The standard medical view of homosexuality, before the emergence of the nature argument, was based on the nurture argument. Freud attributed homosexuality to poor relations with the opposite-sex parent. Some present-day psychologists, such as Cambridge researcher Dr. Elizabeth Moberly, believe the relationship with the same-sex parent is responsible. In an article printed in the book *Male and Female*, psychiatrist Charles Socarides argues "that homosexuality is a form of arrested psychosexual development whose etiology is childhood fear."

Dr. Judd Marmor, Adjunct Professor of Psychiatry at UCLA, was president of the APA in 1975-76. While he is a gay-rights champion, his latest research disputes the politicized science of both gay-rights activists and conservatives. In the October 1985 issue of the *Harvard Medical School Mental Health Letter*, Marmor concludes his discussion of the nature *v.* nurture question by saying, "a probable answer . . . is that in all instances of human homosexuality, both constitutional and experiential factors are involved." Degrees of homosexual desire vary because of "different psychodynamic makeups, different behavior patterns, and different life experiences."

The key point of Marmor's article is that "homosexual behavior is not a unitary or singular 'condition.' " If he is right, then mitigation of a person's homosexual behavior is possible in all

Mr. Klingeman, a former NR *editorial assistant, is currently working on a project under the auspices of the Educational Reviewer.*

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cases, but the degree to which it can be altered varies from case to case. The part of the homosexual urge that is developed through "experiential factors" can be controlled with therapy, given a willing patient. Masters and Johnson's 15-year study of three hundred homosexual men and women, providing 45 cases of successful change, is only the most famous of several studies supporting this view.

Some ex-homosexuals who are convinced that the more subtle, and traditional, view is correct have formed an organization called Homosexuals Anonymous, explicitly modeled after Alcoholics Anonymous. Like AA, it aims to help members curb, not cure, an obsessive-compulsive behavior.

HA is only five years old and has counseled about one thousand of the perhaps ten million homosexuals in the United States. But HA's director, Dan Roberts, believes there will be several hundred chapters by the end of the decade. Even if he is overly optimistic, the very existence of organizations like HA challenges the basic assumptions of the gay-rights movement.

HA's leaders and counselors come from the gay culture that gay activists defend. Some have cruised the bars and the baths, marched in gay-pride parades, and attended gay churches in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Discussions at counseling sessions for recovering homosexuals are frank, and no last names are used.

Roy is a stereotypical homosexual. He is a fashion designer; his gestures are effeminate and he speaks in a clipped, breathy manner. He wears a mustache and his hair is closely cropped. For nearly a decade Roy cruised the gay bars in Reading, Pennsylvania. He characterizes himself during that time as "extremely militant." He knew he was homosexual by his tenth birthday. He had a handful of homosexual experiences in his teens. He began to go to bars and date. He denies that sex was his motivation: "I wanted to be loved and accepted." Roy wasn't very promiscuous by gay standards, and he didn't hustle as some of his friends did. "I was very social, and got to be really well known. I should have been happy. I had friends. But I felt so much pain." Several of his relationships were monogamous and lasted for months. His last lover beat him. He became an alcoholic and used a variety of drugs. Roy says that "a lot of homosexuals are alcoholics, and a lot go to Alcoholics Anonymous."

After a final beating from his lover, Roy took a bottle of sleeping pills and nearly died. He ended up at Homosexuals Anonymous. Roy may never be able to overcome the appearance of being a homosexual, and yet he has changed his lifestyle. He is now engaged to be married.

DOUG MCINTYRE is a founder of Homosexuals Anonymous. He was married for almost 15 years and had three children when he abandoned his family. "When I was eight or nine years old," he recalls, "I knew something was wrong, but I didn't have a name for it." Driving to work one day in Boston, he went to the airport instead and flew to Los Angeles. He joined the gay Metropolitan Community Church. He marched in gay-pride parades. After a few months of this, he asked his wife to take him back, and began the recovery process. McIntyre's life is normal now; he attends college part-time, and he is active in a local church. Among those attending and presiding at a five-day HA seminar in Reading last October, there were a dozen Doug McIntyres.

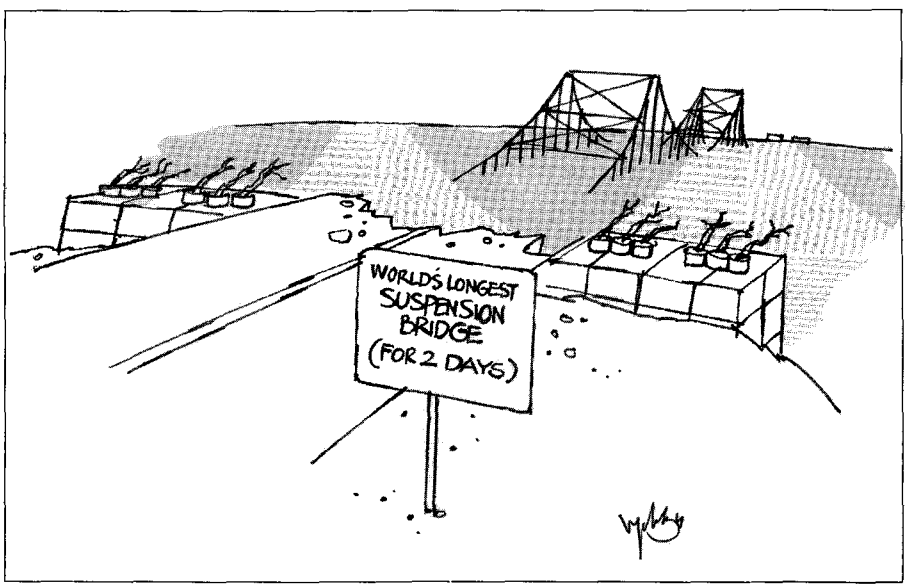
McIntyre admits that "I still feel like I could have pleasure with a man," but his relationship with his wife is "fantastic," and he hasn't acted on his latent desire. McIntyre's admission is common. When gay activists say that homosexuality is not curable, they are right, say HAers. Neither is alcoholism. An alcoholic can never release himself from his desire to drink; he can only prevent himself from drinking and develop a taste for sobriety. A recovering homosexual can never fully release himself from homosexual urges, but he may keep them in check and lead an otherwise heterosexual life.

Like recovering alcoholics, recovering homosexuals sometimes slip, relapsing into actual homosexual behavior. Even HA counselors admit to having fallen back into the life they had abandoned. Dan Roberts says, "Each person I've talked to, including myself, has been tempted to fall."

Gay activists will concede that some homosexuals regard their homosexuality despairingly, but the activists argue that self-denial is "one phase of homosexual identity development," the blame for which rests on social disapproval. The only way out, the activists insist, is to accept the inevitable.

These days most psychiatrists back the activists. Most counselees who seek help from groups like Homosexuals Anonymous have gone elsewhere first, usually to a psychiatrist or psychologist who told them their homosexuality was not a problem to be solved but rather a condition to be accepted.

HA—and similar organizations, such as the Roman Catholic group Courage—agrees, in part. Like AA, it requires homosexuals to accept that they have an illness that cannot be cured. But it refuses to damn them to a life they hate. That seems like a better solution than any that's been put forth by those who view the personal tragedies of others as political opportunities for themselves. □



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OH, IF I COULD ONLY BE A COMMUNIST

One of the stranger features of the current university scene is a nostalgia for the Popular Front alliance between liberalism and Communism that began in 1935. For example, Ellen Schrecker, who teaches history at Princeton, has recently published a book, *No Ivory Tower*, about the post-World War II struggles over Communists in the academy. She has done a good, scholarly job of researching the various cases and committees; she sets down who was fired, who took the Fifth Amendment, who cooperated with the investigations, and so forth. If you need information in this area, *No Ivory Tower* is your major source. But the weird thing about the book is that Ellen Schrecker, teaching history at Princeton, apparently does not think there is anything wrong with being a Communist. In fact she seems to think the Popular Front Communists of the 1930s were among nature's noblemen.

Now I don't suppose any reader of NATIONAL REVIEW needs to be reminded that in 1935 Josef Stalin noticed the increasingly looming presence of Adolf Hitler on his doorstep and decided to make a survival alliance with liberal democrats in the Western democracies. These liberal democrats suddenly were no longer "social fascists" but "men of goodwill" and "honest liberals." Earl Browder, instructed by Moscow, declared that Communism was twentieth-century Americanism.

Youngish academics today, of whom Ellen Schrecker is representative, long for this brief period when Communism seemed to be assimilated into the mainstream of American culture and academic life. The polemics of Archibald MacLeish, the "People, Yes" poetry of Carl Sandburg, WPA murals, the folk songs of Pete Seeger, and the horrors of Paul Robeson's Sovietism belong to this period of sloppy thought. Sloppy, because no lover of democratic theory could possibly confuse it with Stalinism. But the confusion was widespread, and it is at least imaginable that Alger Hiss to this day does not understand the difference between the New Deal and the Politburo.

Now, it is noticeable that Ellen Schrecker has great difficulty in committing to print the three-syllable word "Communism." Academics who were undoubtedly Communist conspirators she calls "political dissidents" and "political undesirables." But she gives the whole game away when she says that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were victims of "political repression."

She means repression of Communism. And though she couches her argument in terms of "academic freedom"—the academic-freedom rights of Communists, which she thinks were violated—the vectors of the book point toward Communism as a real and, it is possible to say, desirable option.

It is very difficult to know how seriously she is proposing the Communist option to us. It is part of the moral and intellectual viciousness of this kind of enterprise that we cannot know. She does not examine any of her assumptions, none. She simply seems to have a Communist sensibility. It is morally and intellectually disreputable.

Ellen Schrecker has also enlarged my understanding of the term "witch hunt." I had previously thought that "witch hunt" meant that, since witches did not really exist, then, well, Communists did not really exist.

No. That's not it at all. In Ellen Schrecker's lexicon, what she means, page 309, is that actual Communists were misperceived as "witches." In fact, they were beautiful people.

She does not associate Communism with the cellar of the Lubyanka, with brain tissue being hosed off the wall, and certainly not with the Gulag or the Arctic Circle, let alone the Red Guards or Pol Pot or Castro's Isle of Pines.

As it happens, I was on a New York talk show with Ellen Schrecker, in the interests of promoting her book. The other guest was a very elderly but well-preserved apparent Communist who had been fired by Brooklyn College in the terrible old days. Ellen Schrecker seemed to be in complete awe of this hero, who claimed that the poet Shelley was a proto-Communist.

My own view on Communist academics is quite severe, though no different from my views on Ku Kluxers or Nazis, who would, if they could, destroy our constitutional system. It did not go down well with Ellen Schrecker and the old Communist on the talk show.

I argue that any opinion, including Communism, may legitimately exist within the university. That is what "university" means. However, the rights that are conferred by our Constitution do not exist "outside" that document. The various rights to free speech and so forth are in effect created by the document. Any individual who does not belong within those first three words, "We, the people"—who does not, in other words, accept the agreement—does not enjoy the rights and protections conferred by it.

Where that line of thought leads is that an American Communist should be stripped of citizenship and deported, but allowed to return and teach at Harvard with a green card.

File Ellen Schrecker, a nostalgic Popular Fronter, under the decline of Princeton University. □

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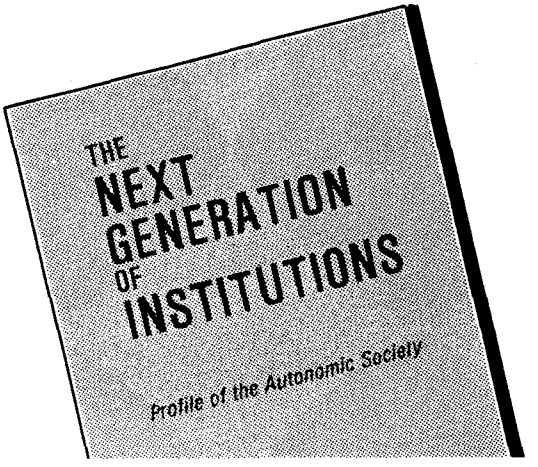

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THE WALDHEIM CASE LIMPS ON

A YEAR AGO I wrote in this space about "Austria's American Elections" (July 4, 1986), when accusations were first leveled against Kurt Waldheim, the non-Socialist candidate for president of Austria. The man who was for ten years Secretary General of the United Nations was first described as a Nazi, and then, when this was proved to be untrue, as a war criminal who had committed atrocities in the German campaign against Tito's sadistic bands. The indictment was cooked up by Austrian Socialists two years ago, and today it seems that the former chancellor, Fred Sinowatz, is going to lose his suit against an Austrian journalist who denounced him as the originator of the clumsily manufactured lie. But obstinacy has always characterized truly stupid people, and thus the warfare against Waldheim continues.

Wherever I go I find people shocked by the supposed fact that a sort of minor Eichmann is representing Austria. After my above-mentioned article appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW, a reader sent me a cartoon from an Austrian weekly that, he declared, could have come from the Nazi *Der Stürmer* of Jew-baiting renown. Since the letter was anonymous, I could not explain to the brave man that the caricature represented our utterly "Aryan" chancellor, Dr. Sinowatz.

The Waldheim affair seemed to abate somewhat until the U.S. Department of Justice put President Waldheim on the "watch list." This means that if, as a private citizen, he were to apply for a visa, his case would be examined by the immigration authorities, who would have to view his request with suspicion. He was allegedly involved in "the persecution of persons on the ground of ethnicity, sex, race, or religion."

The U.S. Justice Department has "documents" justifying this suspicion. Over here the decision is regarded as a slap in the face for Austria, as indeed it is. Since Waldheim's innocence is considered an established fact by Austrians of all parties, and since the Justice Department has, so far, not given any new reasons for its stand, commentators have been trying to find the cause of all this. Surprisingly enough, they have all come up with the same answer.

A few weeks ago I was in South Africa, where nearly everybody is trying to understand why the United States has applied sanctions against that besieged country. Ignorance about America is abysmal in both South Africa and Austria; nevertheless, analysts in both countries are right concerning America's motives: Since American foreign policy is totally counter-productive and senseless, they reason, favoring the wrong people everywhere, there must be *internal* political motives. American policies depend, after all, upon politicians, and these have only one aim: election or re-election. Hence American foreign policy tries to reflect the voters' desires. Unfortunately, because the average voter is an "*homme moyen sensuel*," democracy does not mix either with a sound foreign policy or with sound morals. (To try to starve simple black people in South Africa or to inculpate an innocent person because this pleases potential voters is highly immoral.)

THE DECISION of the Justice Department, needless to say, caused various reactions in Austria. Over here the older generation remembers what it meant to be in the German army, which was known to be non-Nazi, if not anti-Nazi. Until July 1944 an active party member could not become a commissioned officer. Ernst Jünger's famous anti-Nazi novel *On the Marble Cliffs* was published in 1939 with the remark, "Galleys corrected while with the Army." During the war, the only efforts to capture or kill Hitler were made by the army. To show a photo of Waldheim in a German uniform with the text "Waldheim in a Nazi uniform," as was done in America, betrays deplorable ignorance.

All this is familiar to most Austrians. The Justice Department's action thus created a wave of anti-Americanism. In the past the United States has supported Austria in countless ways, and the blow seemed to strike out of the blue. As one might expect, Austrian "nationalists," as well as a number of conservatives, became extremely indignant. Europeans have always accused "Anglo-Saxons" of cant and hypocrisy, and these accusations are now being renewed. Waldheim is on the "watch list," they say, but the red carpet has been rolled out for assassins from the Near East. Waldheim was never a member of the National Socialist Party, but how many former members of the Communist Party, coming from the Socialist Motherland, have been greeted with enthusiasm in America? The "father" of the Soviet Union's hydrogen bomb is admired all over the Western world.

Some air has also been blown into the pitiful embers of Austrian anti-Semitism. Nazi propaganda has always worked with the concept of a conspiratorial "world Jewry" with immense international power. As if to give credence to this notion, an organization called the "World Jewish Congress" took up the cudgels against Waldheim.

America's decision to put on a list of suspects the democratically elected president of a decidedly friendly neutral country appears as a calculated humiliation. Intelligent Austrians realize that the renewed attack on their (not exceedingly popular) president is to be understood purely in terms of the United States' 1988 elections. I cannot think of another explanation—not a rational one, at least. □

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PIUS XII IN PERSPECTIVE

Joseph Sobran

Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War, by Owen Chadwick (Cambridge, 332 pp., $39.50)

THE CONDUCT OF Pope Pius XII during World War II has been the subject of bitter debate, not always well informed. Should he have spoken out more forcefully against Hitler's mass murders?

In the nature of the case, the argument won't be settled by even the fullest disclosure of facts. In *Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War*, the Anglican historian Owen Chadwick wisely refrains from attempting a final answer. But the portrait he offers of Pius as reflected in the diaries and dispatches of a British diplomat, d'Arcy Godolphin Osborne, is indispensable for anyone who wants to understand the man and the times.

Osborne was sent to the Vatican in 1936. It was a turbulent moment for the papacy. The Lateran Treaty between the Vatican and the Fascist government had been concluded in 1929, creating a precarious new papal state, tiny and dependent on the Italian government for water and electricity, with a provision requiring the Pope not to interfere in Italian politics. And Italy, for a change, had a strong government.

As war loomed in Europe, the general view of the democracies was that the old and autocratic Pius XI was Mussolini's ally. But toward the end of his life (he died in 1939) Pius became as anti-Nazi, and nearly as anti-Fascist, as he had always been anti-Communist. He condemned the idolatries of state and race in terms that won him new admirers in the democratic countries.

When he died, Eugenio Pacelli, his Secretary of State, became Pope as Pius XII. Gentle and saintly, Pacelli seemed to have little of his fiery predecessor's force of character; he was a diplomat, given to hesitancy and circumlocution. He was elected to the papacy thanks largely to his popularity among non-Italian cardinals; the Italians favored other candidates.

Pius XII veered away from the denunciations favored by Pius XI. His task, as he saw it, was to avert war by maintaining aloofness from all the contending nations and by promoting diplomatic settlements. When war broke out, he tried to keep Italy from entering on Hitler's side, though he also wanted to prevent the Allies from assisting Stalin, fearing as he did for the Catholics of Central Europe. Once war had come, he hoped to mediate peace efforts.

He was in a delicate position. Mussolini was suspicious of him and the Catholic Church generally, calling the Vatican "the chronic appendicitis of Italy" and apprehending, correctly, that Pius's sympathies were with the democratic governments.

Here Chadwick makes a sensational revelation. Osborne got wind of a German conspiracy to overthrow Hitler, and felt Pius out on the matter. Pius was willing to help, by offering to conduct a peace settlement between the Allies and a new regime, according to certain terms he was willing to guarantee in advance. "Never in all history," writes Chadwick, "had a Pope engaged so delicately in a conspiracy to overthrow a tyrant by force." Nothing came of it; but the incident shows Pius's disposition. Had he sympathized with the Fascists, he could easily have thundered on their side. Siding with the Allies, he had to be discreet. The Fascists kept close watch on him and Osborne (who stayed in the Vatican throughout the war). The Vatican newspaper, *l'Osservatore Romano*, was carefully controlled and partially suppressed because of its anti-Fascist overtones; so it was with Radio Vaticana.

Because he knew his dispatches to London were being read by the Italians, Osborne had to play his own subtle game. He colored his messages to suggest that he was finding the Pope intractable and pro-Fascist. The inadvertent result was to hurt Pius's reputation among the Allies.

By the summer of 1942 reports had reached the democracies that the Germans were murdering Jews and Poles by the hundreds of thousands, even millions. Memories of false atrocity stories in World War I were fresh, and some witnesses to the new atrocities felt it necessary to tell less than they knew in order to be believed at all. The Allies pressured Pius to denounce the Nazis by name and to speak out for the Jews.

Pius feared that this might do more harm than good. He had no illusions about deterring Hitler; although it's arguable that he underestimated his own moral prestige. He had already denounced crimes against noncombat-

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ants in strong though abstract terms; he feared compromising his ostensible neutrality and his authority in any peacemaking venture. And, like the British government earlier in the year, he thought any denunciation might backfire, provoking even harsher measures against civilians.

When he finally spoke, in his 1942 Christmas message, he named no names, referring only to "the hundreds of thousands of innocent people put to death or doomed to slow extinction, sometimes merely because of their race or descent." This was enough to enrage the Nazis and Fascists; it pleased some on the Allied side but left others unsatisfied. In any case, it did nothing discernible to help the innocent. Maybe nothing could have. To those who complained, he said that if he had attacked the Nazis by name he would have had to attack the Bolsheviks too: Would the Allies have liked that? No; but we may still think that this is beside the point, and that he should have been both explicit and evenhanded in condemning war crimes.

It's worth noting that the Fascists complained too when he didn't criticize Allied bombing of civilian centers (Osborne tried to dissuade him from doing so) and, later, the Yalta pact. It was, in a fateful way, a matter of personal style: He thought he had done a lot by enunciating timely principles whose application was obvious enough.

At first Osborne was bitterly disappointed. "But in long reflection," Chadwick writes, "he was satisfied with that Christmas broadcast." In his last years he defended Pius's memory against the posthumous vilification it suffered in Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*. This was tragically fitting: Necessity had caused him to distort Pius's reputation while he lived. By a further irony, he had been pleased by Pius's public silence about British and American conduct at other times. He gave his measured assessment of the Pope: "Pius XII was the most warmly humane, kind, generous, sympathetic (and incidentally saintly) character that it has been my privilege to meet in the course of a long life." He lived out that life in Rome, the city he and Pius had loved and tried together to spare, and died there on March 20, 1964. □

FANATICS' REACH

John P. McCarthy

The American Connection, by Jack Holland (Viking, 272 pp., $19.95)

JACK HOLLAND, a journalist/novelist, has put together a series of lengthy articles about various aspects of the Irish-American dimension to the Northern Ireland situation. A Belfast native, he knows the problem too well to repeat the romantic simplicities about British "occupation" held by many Irish-American activists, whom he labels "arcadian dreamers" of an Ireland of the past. On the other hand, he is shrewd enough to satisfy that portion of his audience with a near epic description of the gun-runners and titillating accounts of courtroom theatrics and protests at royal visits.

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RANDOM NOTES

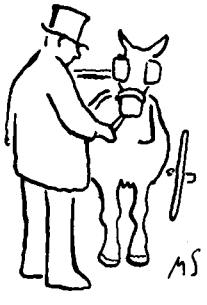
☐ MORE JUNE TITLES: In *Thinking like a Communist: State and Legitimacy in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba* (Norton, $16.95), Tony Smith explores the uses of the personality cult, as employed by Mao, Stalin, and Castro, for rapid industrialization of national economies, and concludes that, unless the withering away of the Communist state occurs, these—and by implication similarly ruled countries—will drop further and further behind the West in technological progress.

George C. Marshall: Statesman, 1945-1959 (Viking, $29.95), by Forrest C. Pogue, and with a foreword by Drew Middleton, is the conclusion of the author's four-volume biography, dealing with the former Army Chief of Staff's "other dimensions" as a statesman, peacemaker, and humanitarian, in the roles of Secretary of State, head of the American Red Cross, and Secretary of Defense.

Titanic: The Death and Life of a Legend (Knopf, $19.95), by Michael Davie, brings the *Titanic*'s story up to date, from the time of her launching in 1911 in Belfast to the Woods Hole discovery of her in 1985-86.

☐ COMING IN JULY: *Aneurin Bevan: And the Mirage of British Socialism* (Norton, $22.50), by John Campbell, is a deliberate answer to the admiring biography in two volumes by Michael Foot, who briefly led the Labour Party in the early Eighties. Campbell argues that Foot's portrait of the earlier Labour Party leader is highly inaccurate: Bevan was, in fact, a "primitive" Marxist, whose career was "essentially a failure," and whose legacy—what Campbell calls "the mantle of Nye"—is by now "a pretty threadbare garment." —CW

He traces the formation and development of Noraid—the Irish Northern Aid Committee—which the federal courts have required to register (under protest) as an agent of the IRA. Holland argues that the IRA does not control Noraid and that Noraid has nothing to do with the purchase of arms for the IRA. Naturally Noraid has always insisted that the funds it raises are for the relief of the families of men imprisoned for being Irish patriots. The group to which it claims to give the money, the Green Cross, is not registered as a charitable organization in either Northern Ireland or the Irish Republic and never subjects itself to independent auditing. Holland admits that the Noraid money that goes to the Green Cross "is vital to the IRA simply because it frees other funds which are in turn used in the purchase of arms."



The most dramatic part of the book is the account of the actual gun-running for the IRA in the United States, an operation Holland insists was confined to a handful of men. The foremost of them was George Harrison, now in his seventies, who hasn't been in the Ireland of his birth for nearly half a century and who, unlike many Irish militants, is a committed leftist revolutionary, actively supporting the Sandinista revolution, Puerto Rican independence, and other Third World causes. Harrison admits to having obtained weapons for the IRA since the late 1930s. But his operations, he says, were carried out with the assistance of just a couple of other men, rather than an organization like Noraid.

No doubt he is truthful, for how could a fundraising organization that attracts so many zealous and argumentative members seriously direct a gun-running operation? But it is significant that when push came to shove, when he needed money to complete a substantial purchase (which was in fact a Justice Department setup), he was able to get the funds, almost $17,000, at the home of the octogenarian Noraid president, Michael Flannery. Flannery's permanent position in the organization that he helped found is attributable to his impeccable trustworthiness and lifetime commitment to a cause in whose name a great deal of skulduggery and private pocketing of funds was unavoidable.

Flannery, Harrison, and three others stood trial in late 1982 for that particular episode. They were acquitted, thanks to their counsel's extraordinary defense that they assumed the purchase of the guns was desired and being facilitated by the CIA, since the supplier allegedly had done work in the past for that agency. Flannery's "exoneration" was celebrated by his election, the following March, as grand marshal of New York's St. Patrick's Day parade. However, the last laugh was had by the Justice Department, as the trial at least meant an effective end to the Harrison gun-running network and the inhibition of significant arms shipments to the IRA from the United States.

Certain Irish-American conservatives, who perceive the IRA as being somehow different from other revolutionary forces, would do well to ponder Holland's account of how *The Irish People*, the Noraid paper, edits the material it regularly reprints from *An Phoblacht*, the newspaper put out in Ireland by Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA. Generally, items of a nationalist, rather than leftist, character appear here, and, significantly, even the address to the annual Sinn Fein convention by its president, Gerry Adams, was edited to remove his statements about "Reagan's backing of repressive regimes in Central America" and "Israel's policy of genocide against the Palestinian people."

Another theme examined by Holland is congressional interest in Northern Ireland—specifically, the championing of the hard-line nationalist position by Congressman Mario Biaggi and his Ad Hoc Committee for Irish Affairs. What an observer would find most noteworthy is the absence from Biaggi's group of leading national-level Irish-American political figures, such as Senators Moynihan and Kennedy, as well as Tip O'Neill and Thomas Foley, whose interest in, and reading of, the Irish situation ought to have a greater authenticity than that of a Congressman Biaggi, Fish, or Gilman. Naturally the highest-ranking Irish-American politician, Ronald Reagan, has been the special object of venom from Sinn Fein sympathizers because of the recently ratified extradition treaty with the United Kingdom, whereby the political-offense exception will no longer be available to wanted IRA men trying to take refuge here. However, the treaty is completely consistent with any serious ambition to combat international terrorism.

Holland tries to make an issue of the purported disposition of the American press to accept uncritically the British view of the Northern Irish troubles—the view, that is, that the British are the innocent peacemakers between native sectarian tribes. But his anxieties on this matter might be seen

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as simply a natural annoyance with the general lack of interest of America and the American press in an issue in which he is so involved. □

CHURCHES v. GOD

Carl R. Schmahl

Without God, without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America, by James Turner (Johns Hopkins, 316 pp., $26.50)

"FOR OVER A thousand years Europeans had assumed the existence of God. Their faith might be orthodox or heretical, simple or complex, easy or troubled. . . . Yet failing to believe somehow in some sort of deity was not merely rare; it was a bizarre aberration," writes James Turner, a professor of history at the University of Michigan. Today, this "bizarre aberration" is the dominant outlook in influential sectors of our society. From the organs of news gathering and reporting, to prime-time sitcoms, to university campuses and art galleries, to the halls of Congress and the chambers of our courts, principled unbelief is the lens through which our world and the events in it are seen and interpreted.

Such a massive shift in thinking has had profound consequences for our public life. "Most Americans . . ." Professor Turner says, "continue to believe in God; for these individuals belief can matter a great deal. But for the common life of our culture, it matters very much less. The option of not believing has eradicated God as a shared basis of thought and experience and retired Him to a private or at best subcultural role. The bulk of modern thought has simply dispensed with God." In this book, Professor Turner sets out to answer the question, "Why did it become possible not to believe in God?"

Histories of the West since the French Enlightenment commonly portray the rise of unbelief as a major victory in the war between the forces of light and reason and the minions of obscurantism and priestly superstition. Religious faith is presented as oppressive, a lower form of knowledge that must inevitably give way before the triumphal advance of unfettered human reason. And yet, according to Professor Turner, the rise of unbelief was not at all inevitable. Admittedly, the breakup of church authority during the Protestant Reformation, the explosion of knowledge in the realm of the physical sciences after the Enlightenment, and the socioeconomic dislocations of the Industrial Revolution all brought tremendous pressures to bear on religious belief. But religion had weathered similar storms in the past and remained a vital force in the public life of societies. Something else is needed to explain the sudden rise to intellectual respectability of religious unbelief, and Professor Turner finds it in—the church. It is the contention of this book that "unbelief was not something that 'happened *to*' religion. . . . On the contrary, religion caused unbelief. In trying to adapt their religious beliefs to socioeconomic change, to new moral challenges, to novel problems of knowledge, to the tightening standards of science, the defenders of God slowly strangled Him."

By insisting on the ultimate reasonableness of religion, by identifying the workings of God with the laws of nature as they were discovered in the physical sciences, and by making morality, rather than communion with a transcendent God, the essence of religious belief, these progressive churchmen were attempting "to defuse modern threats to the traditional bases of belief by bringing God into line with modernity." Over a period of three centuries, their efforts succeeded. Un-

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fortunately, it was a pyrrhic victory: God the Ruler of Nature "was abstracted into natural scientific explanations" that "yielded no longer evidence of God but simply evidence of nature." God the Moral Governor "was identified with purely human activities and aspirations," which opened the way for secular humanitarianism and the doctrine of Progress. God the mysterious Lord of Heaven "was much diminished as believers shifted the main focus of their concern from God's transcendence of earthly things to His compatibility with humanity, its wants, its aspirations." If God is only Man writ large, then Man is God, and service to Man becomes Man's main priority. The well-meaning churchmen of a century and more ago forgot that there is more to religion than morality and good works.

The persistent tug of unbelief has occupied men for countless ages. Many have succumbed to it with varying degrees of regret, but it is only in our time that unbelief has become acceptable. In this reviewer's opinion, Professor Turner lays too much responsibility for this situation at the door of the church, while underestimating the propensity to unbelief that is in each of us. However, the rise of modern unbelief, and the church's role in it, was a revolution of the first magnitude, the effects of which we are only now beginning to digest. With it, "the traditional linchpin" of our society was removed, with the result that "our culture . . . now lacks a center." In addition, this revolution in thought sowed the seeds of our "distinctively modern Angst," since, "if Divine purpose does not inhere in the cosmos, then human beings must define the meaning of their own brief lives amid a pointless vastness."

Professor Turner has written an enormously interesting and provocative book, which should be read by serious believers of every persuasion, lest we continue to reduce God to the sum of our own hopes and aspirations, thereby preparing the way for a greater increase of unbelief and even more bizarre—and terrible—aberrations. □

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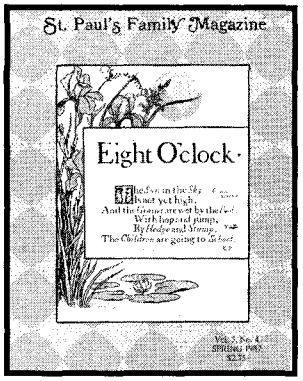

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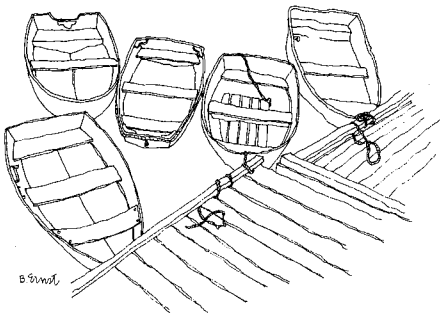

THE PRICE OF SURVIVAL

H. W. Crocker III

The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation, by Arther Ferrill (Thames and Hudson, 192 pp., $22.50)

IT IS A shame that our children are not taught classical history any more (being subjected instead to something called "social studies"), because if they were, they would learn many important lessons. Among them, that progress is not inevitable.

> Unlike most people before or since, until very recent times, the inhabitants of the Roman Empire had ample supplies of fresh water for drinking and bathing, often transported hundreds of miles in the famous systems of aqueducts. The reader should not pass lightly over the word "bathing." The fact is that the Romans did bathe, in elaborate, publicly supported, heated baths, found all over the Roman Empire from Hadrian's Wall to the Greek East. That alone makes them nearly unique in Western history. Furthermore their cities were serviced by sewers, and there were public facilities for the elimination of bodily wastes that were unmatched anywhere until the nineteenth century. The ruins of a flushing latrine for Roman legionaries still stand at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall.

Baths, sewers, and latrines are the perfect way to grab a child's attention and the perfect way to make an important point.

It is too bad too that we no longer have politicians who aspire to be statesmen with a knowledge of classical history, rather than just party hacks. If we did, the Vietnam War might have been much more entertaining. When dealing with draft-card burners, our politicians might have adopted the policy of the Emperor Valentinian I, who ordered all draft-dodgers "who cut off their thumbs to escape service in the army to be burnt alive."

The history of the Roman Empire is, in fact, an ever fascinating and instructive study that should haunt everyone who cares about preserving the American Republic. The spectacle of a great and glorious civilization founded in sobriety, military prowess, and noble virtue being overwhelmed—because of internal disabilities and decay—by ravening hordes of ferocious barbarians is something that should make all of us wary of politicians who want to cut the defense budget and encourage moral lassitude.

Arther Ferrill's book *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* is a splendidly written account in favor of traditional interpretations of Rome's fall, with one twist. Ferrill does not subscribe to Gibbon's famous argument that Rome fell because of "the triumph of barbarism and religion," but shows that straightforward military failures contributed to Rome's decline. The case he puts forth, however, is not quite as straightforward as he makes out, for behind the military failures lay political error, and much of that political error was the result of declining Roman public spirit.

But Ferrill does do a salutary job of debunking the new breed of classicists who push a Marxist version of Roman history that views the barbari-

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ans as oppressed minorities engaging in justifiable wars of "national liberation" and that argues that men and battles do not much matter and that all history is some sort of inevitable process governed by the class struggle or some other such nonsense. Ferrill rightly points out that men and battles matter very much and that the barbarians were just that and not worthy of much sympathy.

The military explanation Ferrill offers for the fall of the Roman Empire can be summarized by two points. Rome's first failing, according to Ferrill, was the adoption of the idea of defense-in-depth, which involved creating a mobile reserve that was meant to supplant Rome's traditional reliance on "preclusive security," or troops based at forts along the frontier. As Ferrill notes,

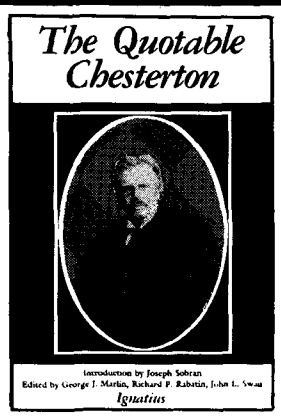
> Although the emperor might be comforted by the nearby presence of a mobile army, the inhabitants of the frontier provinces, through which invaders were expected to pour, understandably failed to appreciate his position. Obviously, the worst feature of defense-in-depth is that inevitably the central mobile army will become an elite force and frontier defenders merely second-rate actors in defense policy. Troops that are not expected to defeat the enemy can hardly be blamed for wanting to avoid him altogether. Indeed as time went by, the frontier troops of the Roman Empire (the so-called *limitanei* and *ripenses*) became virtually worthless while the mobile army (*comitatenses*) was expected to do all the fighting.

Rome's second failing was the adoption of barbarian allies who were allowed federated status within the empire, who kept their own rulers and maintained their own arms, and who "began immediately to demand great rewards for their service and to show an independence that in drill, discipline, and organization meant catastrophe. They fought under their own commanders, and the barbaric system of discipline was in no way as severe as the Roman. Eventually Roman soldiers saw no reason to do what barbarian troops in Roman service were rewarded heavily for not doing."

After the inclusion of the barbarians in the Roman army, Rome was plunged into a self-defeating balancing act of trying to buy various barbarian allies, appease them, and pit them against each other—in short, divide and rule. In the end, the Romans merely became objects of barbarian contempt.

The failed politics of appeasement; the decline of a unifying patriotism and the rise of a perpetual and corrosive competition for power among generals and members of the ruling elite who thought not of the greater glory of Rome but only of glory for themselves and who were willing to deal with the enemy to achieve it; and the fading away of Roman will and moral courage—these made all efforts to save the empire futile. As

William F. Buckley says: "G. K. Chesterton is verily what Joseph Sobran has said of him: 'the Shakespeare of the aphorism.' His wit not only delights, but instructs, and sometimes one needs to close the cover of this work, to avoid being overwhelmed."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Ferrill says, "Lax troops in a lax age are the most difficult to reform, and there are political costs of various kinds connected with the effort, not the least of which is open rebellion." The fact that this once-proud people had fallen to such a state illustrates that it had already surrendered to an ignoble end. That it was not prepared to bear the costs of reforming itself, facing down rebellion, and restoring the empire merely sealed its fate.

Arther Ferrill's *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* is a book that parents should read themselves, give to their children (to make up for the time they waste in school), and send to their congressmen. Eternal vigilance is not just the price of liberty, it is the price of survival. □

ROMANTIC AFFINITIES

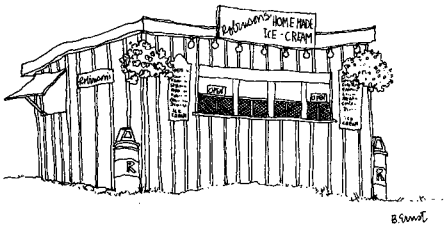
J. O. Tate

Emily Brontë and Beethoven: Romantic Equilibrium in Fiction and Music, by Robert K. Wallace (University of Georgia, 237 pp., $30)

HE HAS DONE it again—unsurprisingly, for following Professor Wallace's work has been a pleasing and edifying occupation for some while. His *A Century of Music-Making: The Lives of Josef and Rosina Lhevinne* (1976) is a graceful double biography crammed with remarkable information and charming anecdotes—a book no music-lover would want to miss, but also one that has the universal appeal of superb biography.

Wallace's award-winning *Jane Austen and Mozart: Classical Equilibrium in Fiction and Music* (1983) was something else again—a creative and critical work of broad scope that dared to undertake an extended interdisciplinary comparison, producing a wealth of insights into the "internal dynamics" found in Mozart's and Jane Austen's structures and textures. As Wallace pointed out, Miss Austen's novels have been described so often with reference to Mozart that the natural comparison demanded a thoroughgoing analysis.

Now Wallace has gone on to chart a Romantic rather than classical equilibrium in his study of Beethoven and Emily Brontë. His method is an ex-



tension of, as well as a parallel to, his work on Mozart and Jane Austen; and here we find throughout an emphasis on the expressive constraints of form over the turbulence of content.

Professor Wallace compares Lockwood's encounter with Heathcliff and the strained beginning of *Wuthering Heights* with the *grave* introduction to Beethoven's *Pathétique* sonata. He sees a link between Heathcliff's smoldering passions and Beethoven's *Appassionata.* The principles of calm and storm oppose each other in both works in such a way as to seem opposing sides of the same force—a *discordia concors* in either case:

> Rolland's final account of the relation between form and content in the *Appassionata* emphasizes the tense equilibrium of its organic form. That relation is "characterized by the emprise of reason over the forces let loose. The tumultuous elements are purified, confined within the strict forms of the classical discipline. . . . A sea of blood thunders within them; but the sea is closed with the pillars of Hercules. Beethoven, by a tenacious and superhuman tension of the will, has sealed the hinges and put his shoulder to the gate."
>
> Appropriately, Rolland's final metaphor for the essential form of the *Appassionata* . . . resembles the metaphor the reviewer of the *Britannia* used to summarize the essential form of *Wuthering Heights*: "a dark and sullen torrent, flowing between high and rugged rocks." The Romantic equilibrium of each work is found in the strength with which the high, rugged pillars of the organic form manage to contain the dark and thundering sea of emotional content.

Aware that he skates on a treacherous surface, Wallace is nowhere better than when he asserts the legitimacy and the limits of metaphorical thinking:

> William S. Newman reproduces this nineteenth-century effusion: "Dismal shadows arise, as it were, out of the lowest depths; soft wailings issue from the heart, and fate is heard knocking at the door. Suddenly a mighty storm breaks forth, then there is painful trembling, and in the second theme in A-flat major, there arises a wonderful sympathetic strain of happy consolation." This is heavy going, to be sure. But the reader who eschews such a response entirely in order to embrace the "objective" analysis of a Hans Keller, or even a Heinrich Schenker, may well be in danger of losing the baby with the bathos. Even the passage Newman quotes, sentimental as it is, responds to primary features of the music. It is not by definition a mistake to use metaphor to describe the emotional or spiritual essence of a great musical work; the mistake is to respond to such metaphor as if it were literal discourse.

Beethoven's sublime sonata Opus 111 is probed for its analogies with the second volume of *Wuthering Heights* in an explication that is aware of the fictional Kretschmar's exegesis in Mann's *Doctor Faustus.* Only then is Wallace ready to plunge into the documented elements of Emily Brontë's own pianism, music books, and musical life, as well as to speculate on the historical opportunities she had in Brussels in 1842: an abundance of concerts and operas, and a festival featuring Franz Liszt himself and a performance of Beethoven's seventh symphony.

Wallace goes on to nominate and establish not only Beethoven the creator as, for Emily Brontë, an influence as powerful and liberating as Shakespeare, but also Beethoven the man and Romantic idol as a model for Heathcliff himself.

> As one contemplates Beethoven and Heathcliff from the vantage point of the late twentieth century, each stands out as a striking manifestation . . . of what has come to be known as the archetype of the nineteenth-century rebellious Romantic protagonist. In both figures we find the doubtful parentage, the temperamental response to social abuse, and the difficulties of integrating oneself into the larger society . . . In each figure we find the energetic spurning of etiquette, the distinctive and often unkempt appearance, the frustration in love owing to social background, and yet the turning to love for personal redemption that commonly mark the "coming of age" of the Romantic protagonist. This leads, in each case, to the irremediable loss of the loved one, who then becomes the "Immortal Beloved," followed by the desperate prosecution of those who come under one's dominion, until the exhausted soul somehow turns away from worldly cares into the realm of the pure spirit, preparing the way for an unworldly death in the face of the elements.

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The crown of Wallace's sustained argument—after he explores Schindler's life of Beethoven as a prime source (in Moscheles's translation of 1841) for Heathcliff—is to point to the polite biographer Schindler himself as a prototype of Lockwood!

Professor Wallace's eye-opening (and ear-dilating) accomplishment provokes the hope that he will go on to develop a comparison he has cited more than once—between Poe and Chopin. In the meanwhile, he has left us much to contemplate—indeed, he has made a major contribution to the study of literature and music, to our knowledge of Romanticism and European culture in the early nineteenth century, and to the refinement and coherence of our perception of masterworks of Beethoven and Emily Brontë. □

FILM

WILL KIDS BE KIDS?

John Simon

THE TROUBLE WITH American movie-making is that it is virtually impossible to turn out an honest piece of work any more. Costs have escalated well beyond sky-high (call it Warren-Beatty-and-Dustin-Hoffman-high), and sufficient returns are possible only if you can capture either the total youth audience or a fair cross-section of all possible audiences: young and old, urban and rural, illiterate and educated, assuming that the last-named category still exists. In the first case, you have to start with something infantile and stick to it as close as a Siamese twin; in the second, you begin as a whirling dervish trying to confront viewers from all points on the horizon, and end up dizzily staggering, exhausted, lost.

Take the case of what at least tries to be an adult movie—although, of course, with much of it aimed at the youth audience—*River's Edge*. Directed by Tim Hunter, whose earlier film, *Tex*, was straight youth exploitation, and written by Neil Jimenez when still in his early twenties, *River's Edge* tries to be an honest look at Middle American kids unmoored and drifting into disaster. It begins by focusing on a 12-year-old, Tim (why does he bear the director's name?); with his long hair, earring, and baby fat, we cannot at first glance tell what sex he is, though there is little doubt of his being up to no good. In fact, this grey dawn, he is pitching his sister's favorite doll into the river. The locale, although the story is based on events in a Northern California high school, is left deliberately indeterminate. As Tim looks across to the other bank, he sees Samson, alias John, a huge, fat 16-year-old, sitting in front of something white and letting out strangulated howls.

The something white is the nude body of 14-year-old Jamie, whom John has raped and strangled. The film will return to that body in progressive stages of discoloration as to a visual and moral refrain. But is it truly moral? Or is that body too sensuously perfect for an adolescent, too lovingly and, later, compulsively dwelt on? In any case, we are in the midst of moral quicksand. The implication is that Tim's drowning of his sister's doll is somehow tantamount to John's raping and killing his girlfriend. Is this meant to humanize John's guilt? The explanation we get later from John is that the act gave him a sense of total control; from Layne, the leader of this high-school gang, that Jamie had said something insulting about John's mother. Or is the meaning, conversely, that Tim is a budding murderer, a thesis later events tend to confirm? In any case, Tim won't squeal—or "nark"—if John will help him get some dope. So they're off to see Feck, their dealer.

Feck, as crazy as only Dennis Hopper can make him, is another problem with the movie. A one-legged former biker still hiding out since his killing of his girlfriend twenty years ago, Feck now lives like a hermit with Ellie, a life-size rubber doll, for sole sexual companionship, his dope and gun ever at the ready. When he and John compare notes on girlfriend-killing, it emerges that Feck shot his girl (a manlier way of doing it?), and that *he* did it out of love. "I strangled mine," John declares. "Did you *love* her?" Feck persists. "She was okay," John allows, and also concedes that he must be a psycho. Are the filmmakers saying that Feck is a better man than John? That his crime is nobler than that feckless riparian strangling? Or is it just a matter of fashions in murder: yesterday's crime of passion superseded by today's anomic *acte gratuit*?

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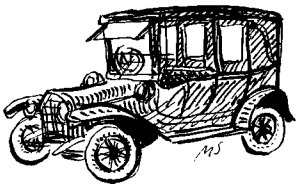
Anomie is the principal theme here. John's high-school chums don't believe that he offed Jamie. (The film, by the way, cheats by never showing us her family.) So when, led by John and Layne, they go to view that voluptuous and unmarred corpse only just beginning to turn blue in the lips, Layne has to poke it with a stick to believe it is dead. "This is unreal, completely unreal. It's like some f—— movie." The joke, if it is one, is that it is *real*, more or less as it happened in Milpitas, California, where 12 kids in the know did not nark on the killer for two days. But what *is* like some movie is Layne, the leader, as played by Crispin Glover, who also struck me as the weakest link as the father in *Back to the Future*. Sporting a black ski cap, black leather, and long, fluttering black locks, he speaks in a preposterous, whiny singsong accompanied by effete, often frantic arm and body movements. This is a stoned, juvenile version of the Jack Palance character in *Shane*. Unreal, man!



Meanwhile, no one is too badly shocked by the murder. The girls, pretty Clarissa and earthy Maggie, vaguely fascinated by the thought of being raped and strangled, toy with calling the police, and quickly desist. Layne declares that both Jamie and John were friends, but you can help only the one still living. The argument for hiding and helping John is bought, except, eventually, by Matt, Tim's elder brother, the conscience of the group. Yet with his unkempt hair, sullen face, and mumbling speech, Matt is not markedly apart from the rest. He argues bitterly with his mother (a belated hippie), fights with her live-in lover, and, when mom goes to pieces, has to act the paterfamilias. When he gives Tim a long-overdue thrashing, the boy (almost too well played by Joshua Miller) vows to kill him.

The kids drink, smoke pot, shoplift; by way of culture (or mythology, or religion), they have rock and television. Looking at her dead friend, Clarissa muses, "I cried when the guy in *Brian's Song* died. Why can't I cry for Jamie?" What arouses Clarissa is an ex-activist teacher who keeps telling his students about the glories of taking to the streets in the Sixties. They listen with apathy or shout him down with obscenities (which he calmly tolerates) or, in Clarissa's case, gaze at him adoringly. It is not clear how *he* responds to Clarissa, an angel with a bestial mouth, not unlike that of Feck's doll.

Clarissa (well played by Ione Skye Leitch) seduces the lethargic Matt into spending a night with her in the park. The sexual bout in a sleeping bag, for which they hardly remove any clothing, is singularly joyless; Clarissa is promptly tired, and when Matt craves a little maternal affection from her, she counsels sleep. Meanwhile Tim and his best buddy and coeval roam the nocturnal streets in a stolen car and with a purloined gun in search of Matt, whom Tim wants to kill. When asked, "Why are you two such delinquents?" Tim's prefab answer is, "Because of our f——-up childhoods."

What grown-ups we do see, rather sketchily, tend to justify Tim's glib sneer. *River's Edge*, to give it its due, spares no one. But it does dawdle or wander off, or underline too heavily from time to time, as well as remain a bit one-sided: Society is not shown in its full rivenness between the values of Norman Rockwell and Norman Mailer. Yet that may be too much to ask. There certainly is knowhow in the dialogue of Neil Jimenez and in the cinematography of Frederick Elmes, who shows that, free of David Lynch, he can do much better than the poster art of *Blue Velvet*.

For all its earnestness, though, *River's Edge* is inferior to a Swedish film about adolescence, *My Life as a Dog*, by Lasse Hallström from an autobiographical novel by Reidar Jonsson (who collaborated on the script), exquisitely shot by Bo Widerberg's cameraman, Jörgen Persson. It tells of 12-year-old Ingemar, whose father is loading bananas in South America, mother is dying of TB, older brother bullies him, and dog is taken away from him. Ingemar hates being sent to rusticate in a southern-Swedish village with a sweet simpleton of an uncle, but consoles himself with gazing at the star-strewn sky while meditating on assorted horror stories he gleans from the papers.

In the village, he meets eccentric adults and nervy children, and has adventures involving soccer, boxing, sex, and even the beginning of love for a tomboy whose nascent breasts he helps tape down so she can still be one of the boys. The adventures are jolly or wry, funny or wistful, and only rarely verge on cuteness. From Milpitas, California, in the Eighties to rural Sweden in the late Fifties it is, of course, a quantum backslip. Yet here, too, as well as back in town with the dying mother, there is suffering and anguish, and a kid may well resort to such a comic-symbolic remedy as pretending to be a dog.

Ingemar, compellingly played by Anton Glanzelius—an ageless, unsentimental child—is a racy mixture of decent and mischievous impulses; his faintly ghoulish nocturnal ruminations, like his daytime moments of wildness, are relieved by zesty humor. The film has that touching toughness I associate with Jules Renard's *Poil de carotte* (the novel more than the Duvivier movie): Even the handling of the mother's growing abstractedness, distance, and death refuses to beg for tears. There is a mature, mellow humanity about *My Life as a Dog* that neither the gee-whiz cutesiness nor the hell-bent rawness of its various American counterparts can begin to equal. □

SOUND ON DISC

GREAT & IMPERISHABLE

Ralph de Toledano

We have had *Louis Armstrong & Sidney Bechet in New York 1923-1925* (Smithsonian), the Hugues Panassie dates (RCA Victor), and the retrospective *Sidney Bechet—Master Musician* (Bluebird) to teach us that Sidney Bechet led the jazz world in technique, voice, intonation, and invention until the mid 1920s, when Louis Armstrong, learning from him, caught up and surpassed him, at least in brilliance. Bechet, like the greatest of the early jazzmen, came from New Orleans, that melting pot of blues, quadrilles, opera, rags, gutbucket—almost anything that could make sound. As early as 1919, the classical conductor Ernest Ansermet heard Bechet in Europe and wrote that perhaps the fu-

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ture of music was bound up in this one instrumental singer.

Bechet began as a clarinetist, than which in its New Orleans phase there is no than whicher. He moved on to the soprano saxophone, fuller in body than the clarinet but in his hands as supple. (On one of his recordings, he is, through the magic of replays, the entire band—soprano, trumpet, piano, drums, etc.) The genius of Sidney Bechet—the beautiful tone he evoked from his instrument, his impeccable phrasing, and his unfailing improvisations—is there in the recordings I have mentioned. But we can hear him now in the *Complete Blue Note Recordings of Sidney Bechet* (Mosaic Records, 197 Strawberry Hill Avenue, Stamford, Conn. 06902). The significance of these recordings is that Blue Note rescued those it recorded from the Procrustean bed of the three-minute 78 rpm and allowed them to spread out on 12-inch discs, which almost gave them a chance to duplicate what they played on 52nd Street, in Greenwich Village, and in Harlem. And here you have Bechet at the height of his powers, in the 1940s, surrounded by musicians out of the top drawer of the time's jazz—delivering some of the best small-band jazz you could hear.

Those small bands, for the most part playing "head" arrangements—that is, ad hoc arrangements never set down on paper—were held together by a kind of musical empathy, and this required that the men understood each other and the tradition from which they sprang, the values common to all of them. It can be said that, on these recordings of jazz and blues themes as well as pop, there is not one brash note to offend Bechet's quiet and soulful lyricism or his New Orleans *cante jondo*. The roster tells you why: men like Frankie Newton (trumpet), Art Hodes (piano), Max Kaminsky (trumpet), Pops Foster (bass), and that superlative drummer "Big Sid" Catlett. This is jazz *comme il faut* and jazz to give you the amens.

But I rejoice a little more for two other Mosaic sets of reissues—*The Complete Edmond Hall/James P. Johnson/Sidney De Paris/Vic Dickenson Blue Note Sessions* and *The Complete Recordings of the Port of Harlem Jazzmen* (also from Blue Note). For here we have jazzmen of genius or superlative talent who recorded relatively little—and that little seldom reissued. Most of those featured are musicians' musicians and jazzmen's jazzmen: James P. Johnson, who helped fashion "stride" piano from the rags and the blues, and who taught Fats Waller; Edmond Hall, one of the greatest of all clarinetists; the now-forgotten De Paris brothers; Frankie Newton, who played, mute or open-horn, with purity and contained intensity—and the music is what we heard night after night in brownstone *boîtes* or on the records we could afford in the early 1940s. In these albums are the great cadenzas, the solos that built on solos, and the grace that was lacking from the big, successful swing bands.

What these three collections bring together is the very best that was being played in the late 1930s and the 1940s by black and white jazzmen—a combination of New Orleans and Chicago style, with an overlay of the harder Harlem sophistication. At the time these records were being cut, Milt Gabler was issuing his equally great Commodore sides, but for the most part this was crisper jazz at a slightly greater remove from the richer New Orleans strain.

IN OUR college days, we took "survey" courses in literature—usually starting with Homer and ending with the nineteenth century. There have been "survey" collections of jazz, usually called histories, and among the best of these was the Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz. Now this collection has been reissued in an extensively revised form. The new edition is far superior to the old—seven LPs that run the gamut from the piano ragtime of Scott Joplin up to the Sixties. With them comes a 120-page paperback book sketching the history of the recordings and the men who made them, and analyzing the music itself. For advanced jazz collectors, the Smithsonian Collection will duplicate much of what they already have on their shelves—the great Armstrongs, Bechets, Coleman Hawkinses, Art Tatums, Count Basies, Ellingtons, etc., etc. And they will wonder why, in what purports to be devoted to "classic" jazz, so much vinyl is expended on musicians who have already begun to be removed from the pantheon of jazz.

But for those who are moving into an understanding and appreciation of jazz, the Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz will be a delight—and invaluable. The annotations of Martin Williams are sound—and, unlike much writing about jazz, really explain what the musicians are about. I get letters from readers asking me to prepare a discography of the best available jazz, which would take me months of work. I can now recommend the Smithsonian Collection of Classic Jazz as a base on which to build. (Smithsonian Recordings, 111 Tenth Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50336.) □

THE GIMLET EYE

THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST

D. Keith Mano

Yaron Svoray, who gave me this generic biography of a terrorist, works for the Israeli police force. At present he is on leave in America. The opinions expressed are his and do not necessarily reflect an official Israeli attitude toward terrorism.

IMAGINE A small village a hundred miles away from Beirut. A village occupied mainly by large Shiite families and a number of Palestinians who left Israel before 1948. Small village, backward. There's no electricity—it was cut many years ago in the war against whomever. If you're a youngster in that village there aren't many chances for you ever to leave that place.

"Imagine: into the middle of the village comes a large, black Mercedes-Benz. In fact it's a whole convoy. Everyone in the village gets excited. 'Who are these men?' Then out steps a well-dressed, good-looking Arab. He might be wearing a new, pressed army uniform and have an AK-47 hanging off his right shoulder. He calls over one of the youths loitering nearby. The boy is 17, his name is Abdullah. The Arab asks him what he does. 'I've finished school,' Abdullah says, 'and

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I'm helping my dad take care of the sheep.'

"The Arab says, 'I understand you're a Palestinian, I'm a representative of . . .' Here you leave it blank. He can represent the PLO, he can represent one of a million groups. Some affiliated with Iran, some pro-Libyan, some pro-Communist. It doesn't matter. There are 140 various terrorist organizations in the world today.

"The Arab says, 'Abdullah, come with us. We'll make a man out of you and we'll make you a freedom-fighter.' Abdullah is very pleased. Being a member of a big terrorist or freedom-fighting organization is very important. Not only for Abdullah but for his family. Because now there is someone protecting them. So Abdullah gets into the car and drives away. The distance, as I said, is a hundred miles, but it's like flying from here to the moon. Beirut is a big, modern, bustling metropolis. It used to be called the Paris of the Middle East.

"Abdullah is taken to a certain building or yard. He meets a lot of young men who are very pleased to see him. It's like a Moonie love-bombing. He has a sense of belonging. Eventually he's given some money. In his little village the possibility of his meet-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

JUST OUT is *The American Conservative Movement: The Philosophical Founders* (Regnery Books, 950 North Shore Drive, Lake Bluff, Ill. 60044, and 1130 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $18.95), the late Senator John P. East's only, posthumously published, book, the page proofs of which the senator had just finished correcting at the time of his death, on June 29, 1986. Typically, my reaction to the prospect of reviewing a book of this nature written (or "written") by a practicing politician resembles the initial one of Flannery O'Connor to the proposal, made her by the Sister Superior of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Free Cancer Home in Atlanta, that she write a memoir of an afflicted but spiritually gifted child, then deceased: "Not me, I said to myself." But John East, before he was elected to the U.S. Senate from North Carolina in 1980, had been for 16 years a professor of political science at East Carolina University, and contributed scholarly articles to such periodicals as *Modern Age*. Furthermore, as senator, he had surrounded himself with top-flight aides and researchers, drawn from the best and the brightest among young conservative-intellectual circles. So, in the end, I picked it up, and took a cautious bite.

The American Conservative Movement is not a terribly ambitious book, but it is a very good one, written in a style that is clear and sophisticated throughout. It has its origins in a suggestion made by George W. Carey, editor of *The Political Science Reviewer*, that the author write a piece on the political thought of Willmoore Kendall. East did so, and went on to write similar essays on Russell Kirk, Richard Weaver, Frank Meyer, Leo Strauss, Eric Voegelin, and Ludwig von Mises, which appeared in *Modern Age*, and constitute the present work. "My purpose in this book," East writes in a prefatory note, "is to show that the seven thinkers analyzed are the seminal theorists of the American conservative movement in the post-World War II era, which produced a conscious and principled conservatism in American thought." Moreover: "There is one unifying theme underlying all seven of these writers: . . . the need to focus the attention of contemporary thought upon an ennobled conception of man and life. Modernism has degraded man" (from the Conclusion).

East's exegetical chapters are of uneven quality, however. The chapter on Russell Kirk tends to flatness; East's treatment of Leo Strauss works overhard to achieve hagiographical status; and the inclusion of Ludwig von Mises, of whom East admits that "von Mises wrote as an economist. He did not pretend to be doing more than that," seems indefensible. East's von Mises is hardly more than a voice box spouting *American Mercury* editorials from the 1930s, which makes his presence among a gallery of men agonizing over how to rescue the classical and Biblical foundations of the West seem essentially a political inclusion, a nod to the economics department after the philosophers and political scientists have had their say. But the Weaver chapter is good, the Voegelin chapter of interest, and the Kendall and Meyer chapters superb.

"It is curious," East remarks,

> that among some observers Meyer should have come to personify the pragmatic conservative, the "fusionist" who attempts to find a place for all in the house of conservatism. This is to misconstrue the essential Meyer. Careful analysis of his writings yields up a theoretical position that is unflinchingly principled. Meyer is not a "traditionalist" or a "libertarian," nor is he a "fusionist": the essential Meyer is a Christian theorist. The Incarnation is the point of departure in all of his serious theoretical works . . . If the Incarnation has no validity, then no case can be made for the need of the limited state, wherein the free man can seek virtue.

As for Kendall, East concludes that his "conservatism . . . is grounded in the deliberative process, as expounded by Publius in the *Federalist*, and in that concept of a 'virtuous people,' as articulated by Weaver in *Visions of Order*. . . . Kendall's conservatism . . . is an *American* conservatism, which Kendall contends is *the* American political tradition." And yet, the lasting significance of Willmoore Kendall lies not, East argues, in his revisionist theories concerning the majoritarian conclusions of Locke, or the importance of the *politeia* to the survival of society, or the need for deliberation in place of debate in the resolution of the American polity. Rather, his "emphasis upon careful textual analysis and upon critical evaluation of method and value is the enduring contribution of Willmoore Kendall, a needed antidote to the intellectual climate of our time, which seems to have succumbed to the narrowness of positivism and the dogmatism of ideology."

As I say, here is a highly readable book, without much reach but with a firm grasp. It would make an ideal introduction to contemporary conservative theory for students, inside the academy and out, who would learn a great deal about an important but still vexed subject, very easily and very fast. □

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ing women is non-existent. If you walk down a street kissing a girl, you and she will die. The families are dishonored. Now he meets girls who belong to the organization, maybe he even goes to the local brothel. He might be given a weapon after a very brief period of training. In the Middle East that means he is someone to be reckoned with. What really happened within a week is that Abdullah has changed from a young boy to a man.

"Then Abdullah is sent into training. Sometimes this will take place in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. Or in the Libyan desert. Or in Iraq or Algiers. Basically Abdullah is a simple young man, so you can't teach him, say, sophisticated American weapons. In two or three months he'll learn to use a hand grenade, a submachine gun, some explosives, that's about it. One has to understand that Abdullah is already quite a good soldier. If you're 17 years old and you have to chase your father's sheep up and down the valley, you become extremely fit.

"Three months go by. The camp commandant comes to Abdullah and says, 'You and these two men have been chosen for a mission of glory.' His commanders don't necessarily expect him to be alive after it. 'Here are two tickets, Abdullah. You fly from here to Damascus tomorrow. In the Damascus airport you board Air France flight 301, which lands at Orly Airport. Get off the plane slowly. Just walk up to your luggage—there'll be a machine gun in it with two magazines. Take a deep breath, turn around, and start firing. Make sure you fire basically toward the Pan Am, TWA, or El Al counter. Then, Abdullah, just walk away. Don't worry, nothing will happen.'

"The amazing thing is that Abdullah honestly believes this. Why? Is Abdullah crazy? No—like all of us at the age of 17—he's stupid. Audie Murphy had tens of medals by the age of twenty and a half. When he was asked, 'How could you do such incredible things?' he said to an interviewer, 'At no stage in my life did I understand what death meant.'

"There are thousands of Abdullahs. Abdullah can be a guy who belongs to the Red Brigades in Italy or a young rich girl who is so guilty she joins the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Of course, the really dangerous people are the ones who ride in the Mercedes-Benzes. That Arab will probably be in Monaco with his mistress or gambling in a nice London casino while Abdullah is killing. The average salary of a top PLO guy living in Europe is between $20,000 and $30,000 a month. It is estimated that the PLO has amassed somewhere between seven and 14 billion dollars. Terrorism today is a big industry. A lot of terrorist organizations rent themselves out. Maybe 10 or 15 per cent of their efforts are dedicated to destroying Israel, the other 85 per cent are pure business.

"Terrorism will be in the world for a long while now. Israel has been living with terrorism since day one. You take more care: you look at every package that is unattended to. As a result Israel is about seventh or eighth on the list of terrorist victims. Still, on a scale of one to ten, terrorism probably ranks a two or a one in American daily life. If I were an American mother, I'd worry more about drugs in my children's schools and drunk driving and AIDS and a million other problems, *gehocte tsuris.*" □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Hopkins, the Self, and God, by Walter J. Ong, SJ (University of Toronto, 180 pp., $20)

HAD IT BEEN up to his fellow Jesuits, the life and work—the incredible lyric flights, the acute observation of nature, the poetic experiments in sound and stress—of Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) might have come and gone known only to the poet himself, and to God. Unpublished in his lifetime, Hopkins's incomparable poetry was given to the world by a non-Catholic admirer who discreetly anthologized a few poems in 1893, and then published a relatively complete edition in 1918. Ever since, commentators, both Jesuit and non-Jesuit, have made up handsomely for previous neglect; and now, on the verge of the centennial of Hopkins's death, an Ignatian brother, Father Walter Ong of St. Louis University (where he allegedly teaches "Onglish"), has provided an "inscape" of Hopkins that is worthy of the man. To the crafting of

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this "inscape" (a typical Hopkins coinage, which Ong glosses as "the distinctive controlling energy that makes the being itself and connects it distinctively with all else"), Father Ong brings two especial talents. One is the capacity for exploring the world of the mind that one would expect from a Professor of Humanities in Psychiatry. The other is a fascination with the sound and sense of words not unlike Hopkins's own. The two combine to form an instrument for probing the interplay of Hopkins's free-born artist's personality, nurtured by his Victorian environment, and his acquired character as a Jesuit priest. Ong discusses four aspects of his subject: Victorianism as a self-conscious culture; Hopkins's decision as a child of that culture to enter the Society of Jesus; the enriching tension between his theology and his lyricism; and, finally, an intensely focused probing of the interplay of Hopkins's interior and exterior worlds and his consequent role in foretelling a new cosmology integrating the 15-billion-year-old universe with the short and recent history of *Homo sapiens*. Here Hopkins's perception of "the rose moles all astipple on the trout that swims" provides its own mystic analogue to the fish phylum in the Darwinian construct. Much the same counterpoise emerges in Ong's closing lines, where the alienation from the Divine implicit in *The Origin of Species* is more than offset by the mystic encounter deep in the psyche: "Here is where the most intimate action of the Catholic faith has always occurred, though action has involved different forms for different ages. Here Hopkins felt at home. Here, he felt, for himself and for all others, is the meeting point of each person with God."

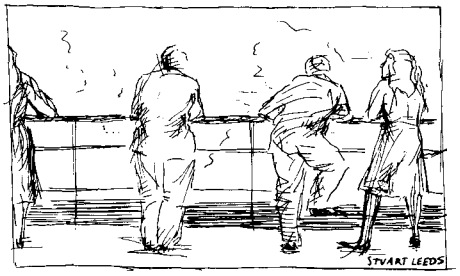
GERALD T. DUNNE

LEJEUNE

(Continued from page 32)

the nuclear deterrent: the Liberals would prefer to abandon it. The Alliance believes in private enterprise but also in more public expenditure. As David Owen, the leader of the Social Democrats, explained, "We would let people make money, but would tax it away when they tried to spend it or bequeath it."

The election campaign, however, is centered very largely on the personality of Mrs. Thatcher. Her opponents



loathe her with a bitterness hardly justified by anything she has actually done or said. Admittedly, she hectors and lectures and tells people to pull their socks up; which is, no doubt, very irritating if you have no socks or feel that someone else should be pulling them up for you. But those who dislike her most are not the unemployed or the recipients of meager welfare benefits: they are the bishops, the university teachers, and an army of minor civil servants for whom the absolute virtue of welfarism and public spending has been a lifelong article of faith.

No one can deny that Margaret Thatcher is a remarkable woman; not intellectually brilliant, not a philosopher, but boundlessly energetic, admirably resolute, glowing with confidence. She needn't have called an election for another 12 months. Less than a year ago the opinion polls were showing Labour in the lead; the rich and ambitious were wondering if they should get their money and their careers out of the country while there was time. But gradually Mrs. Thatcher pulled ahead again and Neil Kinnock fell back, until the opportunity to call an election became irresistible.

In fact the psephological odds are quite hard to assess. This is, for the first time seriously, a three-horse race, and how the voters will react must be an open question. "Tactical voting" is the fashionable phrase, meaning that you don't necessarily vote for your own preferred candidate but for whichever candidate has the best chance of beating the candidate you least want to win. There have been signs of such behavior in recent by-elections: but will it be repeated on a wide scale at a general election? And, if so, which party will it help?

That the Alliance should replace Labour as Britain's main opposition party is much to be desired, but voting for the Alliance now may not be the best way to achieve that end. One prominent Social Democrat has urged people to vote Conservative, on the ground that what the Alliance most needs is for the Labour Party to be resoundingly defeated and then to split; after which the non-Marxist half might join the Alliance.

In the event of a hung Parliament, which way would the Alliance go? David Owen and the Social Democrats would rather make a deal with Mrs. Thatcher than embrace the kind of Labour Party from which many of them fled, whereas David Steel and the Liberals yearn for the cozy days of the Lib-Lab pact, which kept a previous Labour government in office. And there is another intriguing possibility: that the balance of power might lie with Ian Paisley and his clutch of obdurate Northern Irish MPs.

According to an opinion poll at the start of the campaign, 25 per cent of the British public had still not decided for whom to vote. They were waiting, presumably, to see who looked pretty on television. Mrs. Thatcher's achievements are not yet deep-rooted; they could easily be washed away. A Labour government would also imperil the whole defense of Europe. With so much at stake, June 11 cannot be a comfortable day. □

WAGNER

(Continued from page 31)

ther would seem to be consistent with the wisdom of the Founding Fathers, who explicitly relied on religiously derived morality for the maintenance of public virtue but rejected a national church. Yet the morality the Founders relied upon was a matter of firm consensus. One cannot extrapolate from that situation to one in which the consensus has been destroyed. Secretary Bennett may thus be seeking a political solution to a problem beyond the competence of politics. In this effort he is unlikely to receive the full support of those who, observing the crumbling of the old consensus, are more interested in passing their most cherished beliefs on to their children than in ceding their right to do so in order to promote a secularized version of those beliefs as delivered by the same institutions that did so much to destroy the consensus in the first place. William Bennett is willing to do the job, but those whose values he shares may be unwilling to give him the tools. And they may be right. □

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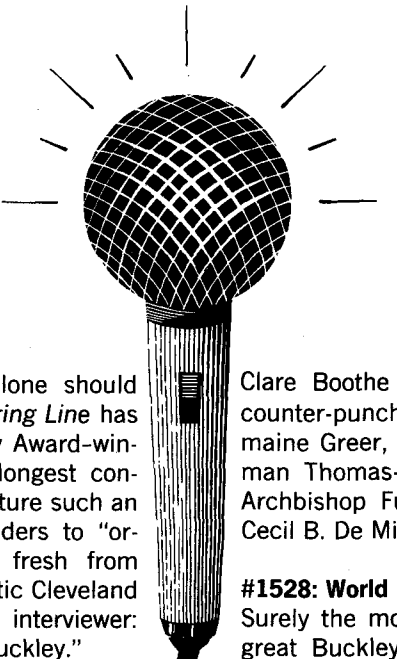
'We interrupt this magazine to bring you a special announcement . . .'



. . . and we'll keep it brief—the facts alone should convince you to act. Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s *Firing Line* has celebrated its 20th Anniversary. This Emmy Award-winning "talk show" is not only one of the longest continuous TV programs but the *only* one to feature such an amazing variety of guests, from world leaders to "ordinary" Americans like a young Marine fresh from Vietnam (he's now Colonel Oliver North). Critic Cleveland Amory (in *TV Guide*) once voted: "Best interviewer: William Buckley. Best interviewee: William Buckley."

But you probably know all that. The news is that the *best* of *Firing Line* has been deftly packaged in four standard hour-long video-cassettes—and *you* can get them for yourself right now for just $39.95 each—or *all four* at the incredible bargain rate of just $99.95 (*including* postage and handling!). Just fill out and return the handy coupon below—you don't want to miss an opportunity like this one—supply is limited, so act now.

Here are the programs you can choose from:

#1531: Bill Buckley and Firing Line Get Roasted
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#1530: A Potpourri of Persuaders
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JESSE JACKSON AND THE POLLS

NEW YORK, MAY 18

EVERY NOW and then I feel unconstitutional impulses, and I try to suppress them. But the one I try to suppress least would bar polls. Why? Because polls can drive you crazy, and can encourage irrational conduct. I give you what comes out of West Germany. One national poll reports that slightly more West Germans believe that Ronald Reagan is a threat to the peace than believe that Gorbachev is a threat to the peace. The second poll asks Germans to rate the two on a sympathy scale, going from minus 5 to plus 5. Reagan comes in at 0.1 plus. Gorbachev comes in at 1.2 plus. The trouble with such a poll is that it causes that little voice box deep inside you to say, To hell with the damn Krauts—let Gorbachev have them, and see how they like it. Come to think of it, they practiced on Hitler. Maybe they'll like him fine.

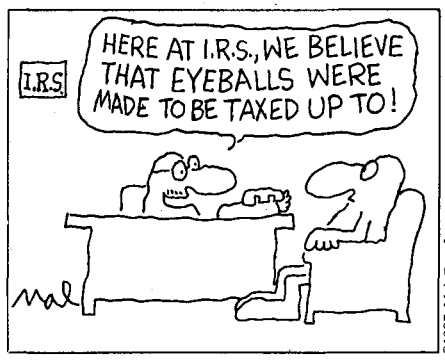
But, of course, one should not tolerate such sentiments. The Germans are lovely people, and we must be patient with them . . . And now the pestiferous polls tell us that Jesse Jackson is the "front-runner" in the Democratic race for President. And everyone who knows anything at all about politics knows what is going to happen now. 1) Jesse Jackson will cease being the front-runner after the first state primary; 2) Jesse (and his backers) will say that once again there is evidence of America's deep racism. That he was clearly the leading candidate until Americans faced up to the fact that they simply could not vote for a black man for President.

About 15 years ago I wrote an essay for *Look* magazine, anthologized in a collection subsequently published, in which I called for the election of a black President by 1980. I was not making a silly affirmative-action point. Rather the point was that a well-qualified black President could do much to wipe away a traditional memory of racism dating back to slavery; even as the election of a Catholic President wiped away the stigma of the vote against Al Smith, which, in 1928, was substantially motivated by bigotry.

It is one thing to desire that a good President be also black, quite another to decide that a contender for the Presidency should be nominated and elected because he is black. It needs to be observed about Jesse Jackson that he is a wonderfully galvanizing orator, a shrewd (but limited) politician; and that his success is almost exclusively the result of his being black. If he were white, he would be just another populist, with dangerous views on foreign policy, views like the worst of Henry Wallace and George McGovern: and he would be the candidate of the crazies in New York and San Francisco, and a few hundred thousand of the chronically disgruntled.

THE POINT respecting foreign policy needs to be stressed. In 1984, Jesse Jackson was sharply scored for association with an anti-Semite and for desultory references to New York City as Hymietown. Less remarked upon was his behavior in Havana, where he toasted Fidel Castro and even the dead Che Guevara. His enthusiasm for the most brutal totalitarian ever to govern in the Western Hemisphere strips him of any of the basic moral credentials on which one builds coherent humanitarian policies. One could not praise Adolf Hitler and toast Himmler and proceed to the altar of civil rights and speak with true resonance. And Jesse Jackson argues logically from his enthusiasm for Castro when he deplores our spending on military defense. Indeed, if life under Castro is a life to be envied, then there is hardly any point in arming against the possibility of life under Gorbachev. As a matter of fact, life under Gorbachev is preferable to life under Castro.

But, sigh, the racist question is going to come up. Perhaps we shouldn't be surprised. Every time Ronald Reagan comes out against racial quotas, he is denounced as a racist by the NAACP. It will be so in the months ahead when the Democratic Party declines to lie down and nominate Jesse for President.



Well, it couldn't have happened to a more deserving party. The Democrats are overwhelmingly men and women of patriotic and humanitarian inclination, but they have tolerated such as Jesse Jackson. In part because political attitudinarianism is fashionable; but in part also because of the fear of being called racist. And having declined to lay down rules of excommunication, now they are up against it.

Yes. The polls tell us that Jesse Jackson is the Democratic front-runner. I have a wonderful idea. Run Jesse for president of West Germany. □

POLITICS v. ECONOMICS I

NEW YORK, MAY 20

A FEW WEEKS ago I wrote about the budget deficit, intending to be helpful; and I had back a genial ("the reason I am writing is that the economics you have been teaching me over these years has come home to roost") but stern ("your advocacy of a value-added tax is a disaster") letter from Professor Milton Friedman. Everything Mr. Friedman says is interesting not only to the members of the Nobel Committee but to all right-minded students of economics, and the point that his letter especially stresses is this: That which is economically sensible may be politically disastrous in a democracy, and therefore ought not to be advocated.

This is an alarming social insight, requiring serious attention.

The issue in question continues to be, How do we move toward a balanced budget? The directest political way to do so is to forbid deficit financing, and this was attempted in 1982 when the Senate voted a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. The House came in with a majority, but not the necessary two-thirds, leaving the initiative to the states, which have continued to struggle for the last five years: The reformists have 32

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out of the 34 state legislatures necessary to convoke a constitutional convention.

The constitutional amendment having failed (up to the moment), the fiscal therapists looked for other means to do something about deficit spending. The objective is to raise revenue without damaging the productive machine. Something on the order (if I have got the mechanical metaphor right) of coming up with a higher-octane gasoline, sufficient to prod the engine into greater productivity without damaging it.

I have advocated, along with many others, a value-added tax, a device widely used in Europe, which taxes the value of a product as it moves from productive echelon to echelon, from the collector of the raw materials, to the manufacturer, to the wholesaler, to the retailer, to the consumer.

Comments Professor Friedman: "There is no doubt that from a purely economic point of view there is a great deal to be said for a value-added tax, but from the political point of view it is a disaster not only because it is efficient but more fundamentally because it is invisible."

In a single sentence, Mr. Friedman writes the melancholy commentary on democratic practice, namely: That which is technically desirable may be politically undesirable. Why?

"People today do not recognize that in the price of the goods they are buying they are also paying a whole host of taxes. Similarly, with a value-added tax, people do not recognize when they are buying goods and services that they are paying taxes. The facts are overwhelming: To the best of my knowledge, every country that has adopted value-added taxes has seen government spending rise as a fraction of income; every one of those countries has a higher level of government spending relative to national income than we do. Enacting a value-added tax is an absolutely sure-fire way to make government spending go up and not come down."

Is this so only because of the ignorance of the consumer, who accepts taxes because he does not realize he is paying them? No, it is the architects of high spending that we need to focus on: "I know that this is not an outcome you want, but it is an outcome that is very much desired by many people in the Congress. When they come out and talk about the need for a broad-based consumption tax—they mean a value-added tax—they are doing so precisely as a way to make sure that they can continue to increase spending as a fraction of income."

Now this observation is of arresting interest less for economic reasons than for political reasons. If society is effectively prohibited from correct conduct because engaging in correct conduct encourages self-abuse, it needs then to ask disturbing questions about democratic practice. When Ronald Reagan was governor of California he swore and swore again that he would not tolerate a withholding provision as the instrument of collecting California income tax. His reasoning aligns exactly with that of Milton Friedman: The withholding tax is snake oil used for their own purposes by big spenders. The American receiving his paycheck looks at the bottom line and is gulled into forgetting that 10, 15, 20 per cent or more is being withheld to pay for government overhead. Governor Reagan had to capitulate on that point, under political pressure. The ongoing challenge is either a) to awaken the consumer to the role government spending is playing in the cost of living; or b) to search out political means of compensation for an ignorance that cannot be allayed. □

POLITICS v. ECONOMICS II

NEW YORK, MAY 22

Milton Friedman adroitly fingers a conflict between good economics and good politics. The proposed value-added tax, he says, could indeed generate great revenues for a revenue-hungry treasury; but it would do so so painlessly as to encourage Congress, once the VAT (as they call it in Europe) was established, to piggyback onto VAT all its extravagances. And the trouble there, as Friedman says, is that, whereas with strict reference to economic principle a certain amount of VAT may be desirable as a revenue collector, too much of it is likely to cause the economic engine to freeze up; and the result of that is economic stagnation.

In examining the broader question of the power of minority interests over majority interests, Friedman makes the penetrating point that the smaller the minority interest, the better leverage, paradoxically, it has on the majority. He gives the farm community as the best case in point.

In 1954, 5.8 per cent of the American people were engaged in the production of food. By then, the idea of special help to the farmer had long since been accepted by both political parties. Accordingly, under the various agricultural-subsidy programs, we paid each farmer $1,830 in 1953.

In 1986—such was the progressive efficiency of farming during the intervening thirty years—our food-growing population had reduced from almost 6 per cent to less than 2 per cent (1.7 per cent, exactly). And how much did we pay the farmers in 1986? Each one of them cost the government $17,544. So that while the farm community was reduced by almost 75 per cent, subsidies (direct and indirect) to the farmers increased by almost 900 per cent.

"The sharp decline in the relative size of agriculture . . . has clearly been accompanied by an increase rather than a decrease in its political clout. And what is true of the United States is true around the world. Almost without exception, wherever a majority of the population is engaged in agriculture—as in most poor countries of the world—farmers are taxed to subsidize the urban minority. By contrast, whenever only a small minority of the population is engaged in agriculture—as in the most highly developed countries—the urban majority is taxed to subsidize farmers. The reason is straightforward. A group that seeks benefits through political pressure is handicapped by being too numerous and, at least up to a point, benefited by being few. Government can spend a dollar per member of a majority only by collecting more than a dollar from each member of the minority, each of whom will therefore squeal louder than each of the majority will applaud. On the other hand, government can spend a dollar per member of a small minority by collecting only a few cents from each member of a large majority—the applause is then far louder than the squeal."

Some years ago, Senator Phil Gramm, who was then a Democratic congressman, moved, in the House of Representatives, to reduce the indexation of Social Security to once a year instead of twice a year, on the grounds that the working man, who paid those Social Security taxes, under the pressure of inflation was suffering more than the retired worker. The plausibility of his suggestion was sufficient to win him a voice-vote consent. But then a congressman raised his hand to demand a vote for the record. The measure was defeated. A clear, human illustration of Friedman's point, that economic virtues are often politically hazardous. Social Security recipients are still a minority (they are outnumbered about 1 to 3.3 by working people), but they are becoming less and less of one, so that the cost of sustaining Social Security deficits will become more and more conspicuous to the majority.

What is singled out here is an organic weakness in self-rule: the inverse ratio of objective economic reform to the subjective political desirability of such reform. Organic weakness can be cured only by public education or by the force of law. The majority of the people, when last polled, were in favor of a constitutional amendment to prevent their own representatives from yielding to the appetites of the same people who desire such an amendment.

That is a mandate if ever one felt a mandate: Physician, heal thyself. □

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P. One of the Apostles — 145 51 28 180 86 124

Q. Henhouse, at times — 151 119 62 184 106 163 13 36

R. When these are cut, you will see things more clearly — 178 40 133 98 52 14 118 75

S. This American Revolutionary patriot didn't horse around (full name) — 140 183 48 68 130 3 188 96 29 110

T. Descriptive of a foundering ship of state? — 55 167 41 112 92 8 154 76 148 134

U. Geographical feature of Panama — 42 192 19 82 138 126 117

V. How Julia might behave after her soufflé falls! — 156 20 120 102 80 141 49 6 172 66

W. City in northern Indiana — 100 136 157 146 17 34 58

1 L	2 E	3 S	4 G	5 K		6 V	7 O	8 T	9 A	10 B	11 M		12 D	13 Q	14 R		15 E	16 N	17 W	18 G	
19 U	20 V	21 C	22 I		23 O	24 B	25 A	26 M		27 D	28 P	29 S		30 N	31 G	32 C	33 H	34 W	35 L	36 Q	
37 K	38 F	39 B	40 R		41 T	42 U	43 D	44 M		45 O	46 C	47 I		48 S	49 V		50 G	51 P	52 R	53 C	
54 K	55 T	56 E		57 N	58 W		59 A	60 D	61 L	62 Q		63 M	64 B	65 F	66 V		67 L	68 S	69 A	70 I	71 G
	72 D	73 O		74 N	75 R	76 T		77 A	78 L	79 E	80 V		81 F	82 U	83 G	84 N		85 K	86 P	87 E	88 H
	89 D	90 B	91 G	92 T		93 C	94 A	95 O	96 S	97 K		98 R	99 L	100W		101N	102V	103E	104C		105O
106Q	107G	108H		109K	110S	111D	112T	113J	114E	115I	116G		117U	118R	119Q	120V	121C	122A	123D	124P	125B
	126U	127G	128E	129M	130S		131F	132K	133R		134T	135B	136W	137O	138U	139J		140S	141V	142G	143N
144A		145P	146W	147L		148T	149O	150H		151Q	152I	153D	154T	155M	156V	157W	158F		159N	160K	161L
	162D	163Q	164N	165L	166F	167T	168I		169B	170M	171O	172V	173K	174L	175J		176B	177O	178R		179E
180P	181A	182C	183S	184Q	185M	186G	187I		188S	189A	190H	191L	192U								

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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